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Supplement

SYNOPTICAL TEXTS OF MINOR ROCK EDICTS I AND II OF AŚOKA

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A

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BAHĀPUR (DELHI) : Devānaṁpiye ahā (/*)

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BRAHMAGIRI : Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātānaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahamātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā hevaṁ ca vataviyā (/*) Devānaṁpiye ānapayati (/*)

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GUJARRĀ : Devānaṁpiyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA :   .....tāna ca va......Isi......viyā (/*) Devāna .....

MASKI : Devānaṁpiyasa Asokasa (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : Devā[naṁ]piyo he[vaṁ] āha (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : ......

PĀNGUḌĀRIYAṂ : Piyadasi-nāma rājā Kumārasa Saṁvasa Māṇema-dese U(O?)punitha-vihāra-yatāye (/*) sāvaṇaṁ viyuthe[na 2]56 (/*) Devānaṁpiye āṇapayati (/*)

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RŪPNĀTH : Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āhā (/*)

SAHASRĀM : Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ ā[ha*] (/*)

SIDDĀPURA : Suvaṁṇagirīte Aya-putasa Mahāmātānaṁ ca vacanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṁ vataviyā (/*) Devānaṁpiye hevaṁ āha (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : ....

B

AHRAURĀ : sādhikā[ni*]... . ... [no*] ca bāḍham palakaṁte (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI) : sātilekāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni yaṁ hake upāsake (/*) no ca bāḍhiṁ palakate ma(me) (/*)

BAIRĀṬ : sāti......vasāni ya hakaṁ upāsake (/*) no cu bāḍhaṁ ..

BRAHMAGIRI : adhikāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni ya hakaṁ..... sake (/*) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savacharaṁ (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : adhikāni [aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni*] ya hakaṁ upāsake (/*) no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvacharaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : sātirekāni aḍhatiyāni vasāni yaṁ sumi upāsake (/*) no cu kho bāḍhaṁ pakaṁte (/*)

GUJARRĀ : aḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni upāsake=smi (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : ... ya hakaṁ ... kho bāḍha......

MASKI : ... ..aḍhatiyāni [vasā*]ni aṁ sumi Budhu(pā*]śake (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : adhvi(dhi)kāni aḍhātiyani [va]sāni yaṁ......upāsake (/*) [no cu] kho b[ā]ḍhaṁ pakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ [sa]ṁvacharaṁ (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : ....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀṂ : aḍhatiyāni vasāni yate sumi upāsake (/*) no ca bā[ḍhaṁ] pakāte husaṁ ti va (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : adhikāni ca a[ḍhatiyāni saṁvacharāni yaṁ hakaṁ upāsa*] ke no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachara pakaṁte husaṁ (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : sātirakekāni (sātirekāni) aḍhatiyāni va(sāni*) ya' sumi prakāsa Sake (/*) no cu bāḍhi pakate (/*)

SAHASRĀM. : ......tiyāni savachalāni / aṁ upāsake sumi / no cu bāḍhaṁ palakaṁte (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : adhikāni aḍhātiyāni vasāni ya hakaṁ upāsake (/*) no tu kho bāḍha pakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savacharaṁ (/*)

UḌEGOLAṂ : ......yaṁ hake upāsake (/*) no tu kho bāḍhaṁ pa-[kaṁte] (/*)

C

AHRAURĀ : .. [bāḍhaṁ*] ca palakaṁte (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI) : sātileke savachale aṁ hamaye [Saṁgha upayatā(yāta)] bāḍhiṁ ca palakaṁte (/*)

BAIRĀṬ : ......aṁ mamayā Saghe upayāte bāḍha ca......

BRAHMAGIRI : sātireke tu kho saṁvacharaṁ(re) yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : sātireke cu kho savachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : saṁvachare sātireke yaṁ me Saṁghe upeti bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/*)

GUJARRĀ : sādhike saṁvachare ya ca me Saṁghe yāte tī ahaṁ bāḍhaṁ ca parakaṁte tī āhā (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : ......tireke......yaṁ [ma*]yā......

MASKI : [sāti*]reke [aṁ su*]mi Saṁghaṁ upagate...ca sumi upagate (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā saṁghe upayi ......ca me pakaṁ[t]e (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : ......

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀM : saṁvacharaṁ [sādhikaṁ me sagha ya] yate bāḍha [ca] sumi pakaṁta (/*)

RĀJULA-MĀṆḌAGIRI : sātireke [tu kho*] ..... [u*]payāte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : sātileke cu cha(sa)vachare ya sumi hakaṁ Sagha upete bāḍhi ca pàkate (/*)

SAHASRĀM : savachale sādhike / aṁ......te (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : sātireke tu kho saṁvachare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : ......[bā]ḍhaṁ ca me pakaṁte / .

D

AHRAURĀ : etena aṁtale[na Jaṁbudīpasi amiśaṁ-devā saṁta munisā*] misaṁ-devā kaṭā (/*) palakamasa i[yaṁ phale*] (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): etena aṁtalena Jaṁbudīpasi ye amisā devehi saṁtaṁ maṅūsa misā devehi (/*) pa[lakamasa hi*] esa [phale*] (/*)

BAIRĀṬ : ..... Jaṁbudipasi amisā na(ye) devehi.......mi.......(/*) ..... kamasa esa .. le (/*)

BRAHMAGIRI : iminā cu kālena amisā samānā munisā Jaṁbu-dīpasi misā devehi (/*) pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : iminā cu kālena amisā ye munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā (/*) pakamasa hi iyaṁ [phale*] (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : se imāyaṁ velāyaṁ Jaṁbudīpasi amisā devā samānā māṇusehi se dāni misā kaṭā (/*) pakamasa esa phale (/*)

GUJARRĀ : etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbudīpasi Devānaṁpiyasa amisaṁ-devā saṁto munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā (/*) parakamasa iyaṁ phale (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : . ...hi iyaṁ......

MASKI : pure Jaṁbu[dīpa*]si..... husu te dāni ṁisibhūtā (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : imi[n]ā cu kālena amisa......munisā Jaṁbudipasi ṁi[sā] [devehi] (/*) pakamasa hi [iya*]ṁ pha[lle] (/*]

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : ......māṇuse .....

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀM : imaṁ ca kālaṁ Jaṁbu[dipasi] devā na [manusehi mi*]sibhūtā husu (/*)........[pha*]la (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : iminā cu kālena ami[sā*] .. [misi*]-bhūtā (/*) pakama[sa h=īyam*] phale (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : yā imāya kālāya Jambudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā (misīkaṭā ?) (/*) pakamasi(sa) hi esa phale (/*)

SAHASRĀM : etena ca amtalena/Jambudīpasi/ammisam-devā/ samta munisā misam-devā kaṭā/pala......iyam phale (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURĀ : iminā cu kālena amisā samānā mu..... Jambudi...... misā devehi (/*) pakamasa hi iyam phale (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : imiṇa cu k[ā]leṇa/amisa ...

<center>E</center>

AHRAURĀ : [no h=īyam maha*]tvana va sakya pāpotave (/*) khudakena pi palakamamīnenā vipule pi svaga sakya ālādhetave (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI) : no ca esā mahatven=eva cake pāpotave khudakena pi pala[kamamī*]ne[na*]......svage sakā(ke) ālādhetave(/*)

BAIRĀṬ : no hi ese mahatan=eva cakiye .. kamaminenā vipule pi śvage cakye ālādhetave (/*)

BRAHMAGIRI : no h=īyam sakye mahāpten=eva pāpotave (/*) kāmam tu kho khudakena pi paka[mami]nena vipule svage sakye ārādhetave (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : (no h=iyam*) mahapten=eva sakiye (/*) khudakena pi pakamamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārādhetave (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : no hi iyam mahāten=eva cakiye pāpotave (/*) khudakena pi pakamamīnena vipule pi cakiye svage ārādhayitave (/*)

GUJARRĀ : no ca iyam mahatenā ti va cakiye pāpotave khudā-keṇa pī parakamamīnenā dhammam caramīnenā pānesū samyatenā vipule pī svage cakiye ārādhayitave (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : ....

MASKI : iya athe khudakena pi dhama-yutena sake adhigatave (/*) na hevam dakhitaviye uḍālake va ima adhigacheyā ti (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : no hi iyam [mahapten=eva] sake pāpotave (/*) kāma-[m*].....[khuda]ken=āpi paka(ma*)mī[ne]na vi[pule svage] sake ārādha-yitave (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : no hi iyam......va . .. mīneṇa vipule pi cakiye svage ārā .....(/*)

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀM : [ṇo] ca esa mahāpa-karaṇeṇo(ṇa) va (/*) khuda[ke] pi pakama......

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : no h=īyam mahapten=eva sakiye (/*) khudake[na pi pakamamīnena*] sakiye vipū[le svage ārādhe*] tave (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : no ca esā. mahatatā pāpotave (/*) khudakena pi pakamaminenā sakiye pi(vi)pule pā(pi) svage āro(rā)dhe(ta*)ve (/*)

SAHASRĀM : no... yaṁ mahaṭatā va cakiye pāvatave/khudakena pi palakamaminenā vipule pi suage [ca*]kiye ālā......ve/

ŚIDDĀPURA : no hi iya sake ma . ...n=eva pāpotave (/*) kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pa......na vipule svage sake ārādhetave (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : [no] hi iyaṁ mahapten=eva sake pā. ...

F

AHRAURĀ : etaye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvane khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtū (/*) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtū (/*) cila-ṭhīṭīke ca palakame hotū (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI) : imāya aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane (/*) khudakā ca uḍālā ca palakamaṁtū (/*) [aṁtā*]pi ca jānaṁtū (/*) cila-ṭhitike palakame hoti (/*)

BAIRĀṬ : ......kā ca uḍālā ca palakamatu ti (/*) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu ti (/*) cila-ṭhiti......

BRAHMAGIRI : etāy=aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvāpite (/*)...mahāptā ca imaṁ pakameyu ti (/*) aṁtā ca mai(me) jāneyu (/*) chira-ṭhitike ca iyaṁ paka......(/*)

ERRAGUḌI : etāya ca aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane sāvite (/*) athā khudaka-mahalakā imaṁ pi pakamevū (/*) aṁtā ca me jāvevu (/*) cira-ṭhitikā ca iyaṁ pakame hota (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : etāya ca aṭhāva iyaṁ sāvaṇe (/*) khudakā ca uḍārā ca pakamaṁtu ti (/*) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu (/*) cira-ṭhitike ca pakame hotu (/*)

GUJARRĀ : se etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvaṇe (/*) khudāke cā uḍāre cā dhammaṁ caraṁtū yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū (/*) aṁtā pi cā jānaṁtū kiṁti [ca] cila-thitike dhamma-ca[raṇe hotu*] (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : . .. .

MASKI :

NIṬṬŪR : [se e]tāya iyaṁ a[thā]ya [sāvane] sāvāpite yathā [khu]-dakā ca ma[ha]pā ca imaṁ pakameyvu aṁ[t₁ā pi ca me [jāne]y[vu] ti (/*) cira-thitike [ca] i[ya]ṁ pake(ka)me hoti (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU : ..... ca pakamaṁtu ti (/*) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu (/*) ci......ke......

PĀNGUḌĀRĪYĀṂ : ' .. ...aṭhāya esa sāvaṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [ca] uḍārakā ca paka......kiti ete pi pakameyu ti (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : etāye ca aṭhāya [iyaṁ*] sāvane sāvite

[athā] khudaka-maha*]lakā .....(/*) [aṁ*]tā ca me jānevu cira-ṭhitika ca iyaṁ pakame hota (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : etiya aṭhāya ca sāvane kaṭe (/*) khudakā ca uḍālā ca pakamatu ti (/*) atā pi ca jānaṁtu iya pakarā(me) va kiti cira-ṭhitike siyā (/*)

SAHASRĀM : se etāye aṭhāye iyaṁ sāvāne / khudakā ca uḍālā cā palakamaṁtu (/*) aṁtā pi ca jānaṁtu cila-ṭhitike ca palakame hotu /

SIDDĀPURA : se......ya iyaṁ sāvaṇe sāvite (/*) yathā khudakā ca mahāptā ca imaṁ pakameyu ti (/*) atā ca.. ...cira-ṭhitīke ca iyaṁ pakame hoti (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : etāya iyaṁ [a]......[cira-ṭh]itike ca iyaṁ pakame......

G

AHRAURĀ : iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisati vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisati diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyā vaḍhisati (/*)

BAHĀPUR (DELHI): e[ta*] ca aṭhe vipulaṁ pi vaḍhisati (/*) diyaḍhiyam pi vaḍhisati (/*)

BAIRĀṬ : ......laṁ pi vaḍhisati......diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati.. ..

BRAHMAGIRI : iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhasitā(ti) avaradhiyā diyaḍhi-yaṁ (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH : iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipule ca vaḍhisiti diyaḍhiyaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti ti (/*)

GUJARRĀ : [iyaṁ aṭhe vadhi*] siti ca enaṁ va dhaṁmaṁ caraṁ atiyo (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : ...... ca ......ḍhisa ...... pulaṁ pi...... yaḍhiyaṁ .

MASKI : khudake ca uḍālake ca vataviyā—"hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ bhadake se [aṭhe cila-ṭhi*]tike ca vaḍhisiti ca diyaḍhiyaṁ heva[ṁ" ti*] (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : iyaṁ ca v[ip]u[le] vaḍh [isiti] [bāḍha*]ṁ ca vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā diyaḍh[i]yaṁ [vaḍhis] iti (/*)

PALKĪGUṆḌU : ......ca vaḍhisiti diyaḍhiyaṁ pi ca......

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀM : aya hi atha vaḍhisiti [bāḍha] vaḍhi······

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : vi[pule vaḍhisiti*]......

RŪPNĀTH : iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti vipula ca vaḍhisiti apaladhiyenā diyaḍhiya vaḍhisata(siti) (/*)

SAHASRĀM : iyaṁ ca aṭhe vaḍhisati / vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti diyaḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyenā diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati /

ŚIDDĀPURA : ......vaḍhisiti vipulaṁ pi ca vaḍhisiti a.....
yaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisiti (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : ....

H

AHRAURĀ : esa sāvane vivuthena duve sapaṁnā-lātisati aṁ maṁche Budhasa salīle āloḍhe ti /

BAHĀPUR (Delhi) :

BAIRĀṬ : ....

BRAHMAGIRI : iyaṁ ca sāvaṇe sāvāpite vyuthena 256 (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : iyaṁ ca sāvane sāvāpite vyuthena 256 (/*)

GAVĪMAṬH :

GUJARRĀ : iyaṁ ca sāvane vivuthena 256 (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : ......sāvaṇe.....thena 256 (/*)

MASKI :

NIṬṬŪR : iyaṁ ca sāvāpite[ne] (sāvaṇe) [sā]vāpite v[y]uthena [256] (/*) [sava-pa]thaviyaṁ ca vivā[s]ite ti (/*) yathā rā[j]ā Asoko āhā taṭhā(thā) ti (/*)

PĀLKĪGUṆḌU :

PĀNGUḌĀRIYĀM :

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : [iyaṁ*] ca sāvane sāvāpite vyuthena 256 (/*)

RŪPNĀTH : iya ca aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vālata (/*) ha(hi)da ca aṭhi sā(si)lā-thabhe silā-ṭhaṁbhasi la(li)khāpetavaya ta(ti) (/*) etinā ca vayajanena yāvataka tupa(phā)ka ahāle savara(ta) vivasetavā(vi)ya ti (/*) vyuthena sāvane kaṭe (/*) 256 sata vivāsā ta(ti) (/*)

SAHASRĀM : iyaṁ ca savane vivuthena (/*) duve sapaṁnā-lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256 (/*) ima ca aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhāpayāthā (/*) ya[ta*] vā athi heta silā-thaṁbhā tata pi likhāpayatha ti (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : iyaṁ ca sāvaṇe.....256 (/*)

UḌEGOLAM : ......[sāvaṇe] sāvāpite [vyu].....

2. MRE II

A

BRAHMAGIRI ; se hevaṁ Devānaṁpiya ǎha (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : hevaṁ Devānaṁdevānaṁ(Devānaṁ)piye āha (/*)

yathā Devānaṁpiye āha tathā kaṭaviye (/*) Rajūke ānapetaviye (/*) se dāni jānapadaṁ ānapayisati Raṭhikāni ca (/*)

JATIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA :

NIṬṬŪR : rājā Asoko hevaṁ āha (/*) tuphe ānapayātha Rajuke (/*) se ānapayisati jānapadaṁ ca janaṁ Raṭhikāni ca (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : [hevaṁ] Devānaṁpiye āha (/*) yathā Devānaṁpi...ye (/*) Rajūke ānapetaviya (/*) se dāni jānapadāni ānapayisatı Raṭhikāni ca (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA :

UḌEGOLAM : rājā Asoko Devānaṁpiyo hevaṁ āpa(ha) (/*) tuphe ānapayātha Rajūkam (/*) se ānapayisati jānapadaṁ ca janaṁ Raṭhikāni ca (/*)

B

BRAHMAGIRI : mātā-pitisu sususitaviye (/*) hemeva garusu (/*) prāṇesu drahyitaviyaṁ (/*) sacaṁ vataviyaṁ (/*) se ime dhaṁma-guṇā pavatitaviyā (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : mātā-pitūsu sususitaviye (/*) hemeva garusu sususitaviye (/*) prānesu dayitaviye (/*) sace vataviye (/*) ima dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : [heme]va [mātā]-pitusu [susu*]sitaviye (/*) hemeva......na (/*) [pr*]ā[ṇ*]esu [dra*]hyitavyaṁ (/*) sacaṁ vataviyaṁ (/*) se ime......hevaṁ pavatitaviyā (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : mātā-pitūsu sususitaviye ti (/*) hemeva garusu (/*) pānesu ca dayitaviye ti (/*) ime dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā ti (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : mātā......(/*) gurusu......(/*) prānesu dayitaviye (/*) saca vataviya (/*).. ...taviya (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : mā[tā*]..... [susu*]sitaviye (/*)......[dra*]hyitavyaṁ vyaṁ (/*) sacaṁ vata[vi*]yaṁ (/*) ime dhaṁma-gu[ṇā*] ....

UḌEGOLAM : mātā-pitusu sususitaviye ti (/*) hevam=eva garusu (/*) pānesu ca dayitha(ta)viye ti (/*) ime dhaṁma-gunā pavatitaviyā ti (/*)

C

BRAHMAGIRI : hemeva aṁtevāsinā ācariye apacāyitaviye (/*) nātikesu ca kaṁ ya[thā*]rahaṁ pavatitaviye (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : hevaṁ tuṁphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiya-vacanena (/*) hevaṁ ānapayātha hathiy-ārohāni kāranakāni yugy-ācariyāni

Baṁbhanāni ca tuṁphe (/*) hemeva nivesayātha aṁtevāsini yārisā porānā pakiti (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : [svaaṁ] na te satavasa . ...taviya (/*) hemeva ācariye aṁtevāsinā..... [po*]rāṇā pakitī (/*) . ...sitaviyā (/*).. ...viye (/*) [ā*]cariye aṁ.. ...ācariyaśa ñātikā te[su pi*] yathārahaṁ [pava]titaviye (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : [tu*]phe Rajuka ānapayātha (/*) se dāṇ[i*] Devānaṁ-piyasa vacane[na*] ānapayisati t[i*] (/*) se hemeva ānapayātha (/*) he[meva*] ca Bamhanāni ca hath-ārohāni ca kāranakāni ca yug-ā-[cariyāni] ca (/*)... [yādisı*] porānā pakiti......(/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : hevaṁ tuphe āna[pa*]yātha Devānaṁ-piya-vacanena (/*)....:..tha ha......karanakāni yūgy-ācariyāṇi Baṁbha-nāki(ni) ca tuphe (/*)......aṁte......pakiti (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : hemeva aṁ[tevāsinā*] ācariye apacāyitaviye (/*)su...

UḌEGOLAM : hevaṁ tuphe Rajūkaṁ ānapayātha (/*) se tā(dā)ni Devānaṁpiyasa vacanena ānapayisati ti (/*) tata hemeva ānapayatha ca ti (/*) Bamhanāni ca hath-ārohāni ca kāranakāni ca yug-āca[riyāni ca](/*) tuphe nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsisi(ni) yādisi porānā [pakiti](/*)

D

BRAHMAGIRI : esā porānā pakiti dīghāvuse ca esa (/*) hevaṁ esa kaṭiviye (/*) Capaḍena likhite

[Kharoṣṭhī]—lipikareṇa (/*)

ERRAGUḌI : iyaṁ sususitaviye (/*) apacāyanā ya vā ācariyasa sa hemeva (/*) yathā vā puna ācariyasa nātikāni yathārahaṁ nātikāsu pravatitaviye (/*) hesā pi [aṁ]tevāsīsu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti (/*) yathārahṁ yathā iyaṁ sa(sā)tiro(re)ke siyā hevaṁ tuṁphe ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini (/*) hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye ānapayati (/*)

JAṬIṄGA-RĀMEŚVARA : esā porāṇā pakitī dīghā..... ca (/*) hemeva śa...... ca ya .. [pa*]vatitaviye (/*) hevaṁ [dhaṁm]e Devānaṁpi-[ya][sa*] .... [va]ṁ kaṭaviye (/*) [Capa*]ḍena [likhita]ṁ

[Kharoṣṭhī] [li*]pikareṇa (/*)

NIṬṬŪR : ......[āna*]payisati (/*) ......sususitaviye ti (/*) iyaṁ apacāyitaviye ti (/*) ācāliye apacāitaviye ca sususitaviye ca (/*) ye pi ācali......ti (/*) [i*]yaṁ [ya*]thārahaṁ· [pa*]vatitaviye ti yādisi porānā paki[t]i (/*) yathā hi sātireke huveyā tathā pavatitaviye ti (/*)

RĀJULA-MAṆḌAGIRI : ·····viye (/*) apacāya······se acariya[sa*](/*) ······vā pana nātikāni yathāraha nātikasu pavatitaviye (/*)····· ate···· viya

yārisā porānā pakati (/*) yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ⋯⋯siya⋯ tha ānapayā-
tha ca aṁtevāsi[ni*] (/*)⋯⋯.[ā*]napa[yati*] (/*)

ŚIDDĀPURA : esā porāṇā [pa*]kitī dīghāvuse ca (/*) hemeva⋯⋯
[a*]ṁtevāsine ca ācariy[e] ⋯..[ya*]thārahaṁ pavatitav[iye*]⋯⋯sa tathā
kaṭaviye (/*) Capa⋯⋯

[*Kharoṣṭhī*]— ⋯⋯.[ṇa] (/*)

UDEGOLAM : se ānapayisati ca (/*) sususitaviye ti / iyaṁ ca
apacāyitaviye ti / se ācāriyasa apacāyiva(ta)viye ca sususitaviye (ca/*) ye pi
ca ācariyasa nātikā / tasu pi yathālahaṁ pavatitaviye ti (/*) hemeva ca
pativāsisu pi yathālahaṁ pavatitaviye / yādisi porānā pakiti (/*) yathā
iyaṁ hi sa(sā)tireke huveya tathā pavativa(ta)viye ti (/*) hevaṁ tuphe
ānapayātha nivesayātha ca aṁtevāsini ti (/*)

MEDIEVAL TRENDS IN
INDIAN ARCHITECTURE (c. A. D. 750-1300)—
PROBLEMS IN ELUCIDATION

G. SUBBIAH

I

In the historical writings on India, one of the frequently used, at the same time, very puzzling terms is the 'medieval'. Writings on the history of Indian art are no exception to it. Writers on Indian art employ the term 'medieval' generally to refer to a particular phase of Indian art history i.e. roughly from about A.D. 700-1300. The lower limit of this so-called 'medieval phase of Indian art is often brought down to the end of the eighteenth century A.D., particularly in the case of South Indian art. Along with the term 'medieval', terms such as 'ancient', 'classical' etc. are also found, especially in the writings on Indian sculpture and painting. The terms 'ancient' and 'classical' are used mostly by writers on Indian sculpture and painting to refer to the art of the preceding phases of what is called the 'medieval'. Perhaps influenced by this pattern of classification, writers on Indian architecture too, almost conventionally, describe the period from about A.D. 700-1300 as 'medieval' though, significantly, the architecture of the preceeding centuries is never called the 'classical'. So common and popular the usage of the term 'medieval' has been, that we are now attempting to find out what were the 'medieval trends in Indian architecture, without knowing what, in the place, were the 'classical' trends or if there was a classical phase at all. In fact 'classical architecture' is an unknown expression in the writings on Indian architecture. One of the primary meanings of the word 'classical' is that which is 'accepted as standard and authoritative (of a given field of knowledge), as distinguished from novel and experimental'. If that be so, does it mean that India never produced anything in architecture which could be termed and 'accepted as standard and authoritative' ?

If Indian architecture had no 'classical phase' to precede its 'medieval phase', it had no phase of renaissance either to succeed it. In north Indian architecture, the medieval phase is succeeded by 'Indo-Islamic architecture' and then by what is called the 'late medieval' phase.

In the far south, the 'medieval phase' is taken to continue, almost uninterrupted from c. A.D. 700 to about A.D. 1800.

II

No scope for any serious discussion would have been there, if the term 'medieval' had been used, in the context of Indian architecture, in its primary meaning of being in the 'middle', even though the architecture of the period to which it is applied cannot be considered as an interlude or interruption. Its usage becomes, as Benjamin Rowland puts it, 'an extremly unfortunate one'[1] in Indian architectural context, because it has a connotative and an extended meaning too. In the context of European history its usage implies a degenerating phase between two supreme cultural expressions viz., the classical and the renaissance.

Unfortunately, in Indian context too, the term is used often to convey much the same sense. An all but total erosion of most of the 'classical' values and features and replacement of them by a new set are said to have been brought about after the age of the Guptas and this 'new set of values and features went to the building up of what we call the 'medieval' period.[2] We will have occasion, at a subsequent context, to examine as to what was the new set of values and features and how far it affected the style and character of Indian architecture. What is to be borne in mind here is that the architecture of India during the so-called 'medieval' phase (i.e. A.D. 700-1300) can hardly be regarded as degenerating or even deviating one from that of the preceding centuries. Scholars have tried to show how the post-Gupta period—to be more precise, the beginning of the eighth century A.D.—marks the period of transition from the 'classical' to the medieval' in other words, from one phase to the other in the field of sculpture and painting[3]. Similar

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1. Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 1970, p. 273.
2. Niharranjan Ray, *Indian History Congress Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Session, 1967*, p. 17.
3. Stella Kramarisch, *Indian Sculpture*, 1933, p. 217, note 141 ; Niharranjan Ray in *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. R. C. Majumdar pp. 641-642, 676-677 ; S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 1975, pp. 181-182. The beginning of this 'medieval' concept is, sometimes traced to the pressure of the northern nomads who entered north-west part of India from the direction of Central Asia. But the process by which it became an all-India concept, applicable even to those areas which never felt any pressure from the nomadic invasions, is not clear.

exercise has not so far been done in the case of Indian Architecture.[4] Possibly it could not be.

Manifestation of regional schools is often pointed out as a distinct trend in Indian art during the post-Gupta period. It is argued that the art of India upto the end of the seventh century A.D. admitted of a 'Common Denominator' despite local variations and from the seventh and eighth centuries onwards the common denominator begins to fade away giving rise to various regional schools.[5] But the monuments of India, specially from ·A.D. 700-1300, if studied carefully, betray the fact they had always admitted of a common denominator. Regional and local variations were always there in Indian art, perhaps in a more articulated form after the eighth century A.D. ; but the common denominator was never lost sight of. Is it not a fact, for instance, that the innumerable temples scattered all over north India, conceptually and stylistically, belong to one and the same group, despite their regional variations ? There exists, of course, a dichotomic division —viz., north-south-with regard to Indian temple style. But that needs no special emphasis because, as an eminent historian says, in another context, 'it is impossible to generalize about the entire sub-continent as a single unit in any period.[6]

From the architectural point of view, the period from about A.D. 700-1300 is important in two respects. On the one hand, the middle of eighth century and the beginning of ninth century A.D., marked the point of culmination of a particular mode of architecture viz., the rock-cut architecture. Passing through a long course of evolution for well over a thousand years, the cut-in mode of architecture reached its terminating point in the famous cut-out, monolithic temple, the Kailāsa, at Ellora. On the other hand the same period (c. A.D. 700-1300) witnessed the growth, development and ultimate expression of a fresh movement viz., the structural architecture which is particularly associated with temples, built of permanent materials. This structural movement, it should be noted, had its experimental beginnings not in the eighth century but in the fourth-fifth centuries A.D.

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4. In fact the period from A.D. 320 to 790 is taken by one scholar and rightly so, as marking 'a parting of the ways in the history of Indian architecture'. S. K. Saraswati, in *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar p. 471.
5. Niharranjan Ray, *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, 1967, p. 19.
6. Romila Thapar, 'Social Mobility in Ancient India' in *Indian Society : Historical Probings*, ed. R. S. Sharma p. 96.

Would it be, then, appropriate to designate that interval of time which witnessed in its early part the point of culmination of one creative movement in architecture and the vigorous growth and development of another creative movement which found its classical expression in its later part as the 'medieval' phase ? The switch over from the rock-cut mode to structural is, after all, a proof positive of the knowledge and perfection attainted by the Indian builders in the masonry system of production and its immense possibilities.

<div style="text-align:center">III</div>

The term 'medieval' may thus be unfitting to describe any period or any part of Indian architecture, at least, upto the end of the first millennium A.D. But it has found, as already noted, a ready acceptance in the scheme of Indian historical writing. Writers on political, social and economic history of India have found much use in the term though there is more than one hypothesis as to the beginning of the 'medieval' phase in Indian history. The decline of the Gupta empire, or the death of Harṣavardhana, or the break-up of the Pratihāra empire or the invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni are all taken up by one or the other scholars as the starting point of the 'medieval' period.[7] Likewise more than one date has been suggested as to the lower limit of the 'medieval' period. The general consensus, however, seems to be that the medieval period of Indian history spanned over a millennium years i.e., from about A.D. 700-1800, falling into at least three sub-periods viz. early medieval (c.A.D. 700-1200) the medieval proper (c.A.D. 1200-1500) and the late medieval (c. A.D. 1500-1800)[8]

Professor N. R. Ray in his illuminating address of the General President, Indian History Congress, 1967, gives an impressive list of major values and features which set the trend of medieval period. The important among them are as follows : 'supremacy of the scriptures and religious texts........absolute obedience to priests and preachers ; regionalism in territorial vision and in the pattern of political action ; regionalism

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7. For detailed discussions, see L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India c A.D. 700.1200*, 1965, pp. 227-229 ; R. S. Sharma, 'Problem of Transition from Ancient to Medieval in Indian History', *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 1.

8. L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 229 ; Niharranjan Ray, *Indian History Congress Proceedings......*, 1967, p. 17.

in art, language, literature and script ; proliferation of religious cults and sects.........of sectarian rivalries and jealousies ; proliferation of adminis-trative machinery......feudalisation of land ownership; relative dependence on land and agriculture in preference to trade, commerce and industry ; preponderance of natural economy over.money economy...'[9] and so on. All these values and features could not have been equally valid for the whole of the thousand years to every part of this vast sub-continent.   But these traits and features, according to the learned author, 'begin to make themselves manifest..... from about the seventh and eighth century of the Christian era and slowly and surely go on unfolding themselves till the end of the period and not a few of them continue right through into the period which we call 'modern.'[10]

For our purpose we shall confine ourselves to what is called the early medieval period i.e., from about A.D. 700-1200.

There is a growing tendency, in recent times, to describe the pattern of Indian Society that emerged during the second half of the first millennium A.D. as 'feudal'[11] The origin of Indian feudalism is traced to what the orthodox historians call the 'Classical age' or the age of the Guptas.   The growth of Indian model of feudalism is linked to the decline of trade and petty commodity production, the decline of money-economy, the decay of urban centres and the rise of local units of pro-duction, self-sufficient village economy and of landed intermediaries between the king and the peasant, all of which are taken to be the salient features of Indian society after the age of the Guptas.

Our concern, however, is not to decide whether the new set of features which are said to have emerged in the mid-part of the first millennium A.D. should be called the 'medieval' or the 'feudal' but to find out how far these features set the trend in the contemporary architecture.

IV

Before we proceed further, it may be useful to give a brief account of the general course of Indian architecture during the period from about A.D. 700-1300.   In the first place, the extant monuments, either excavated

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9. Niharranjan Ray, *Indian History Congress Proceedings:..*, p 28.

10. *Ibid.,*

11. Several studies on early Indian 'Feudalism' have been undertaken in recent years. - For a detailed bibliography see D. N. Jha, *Early Indian Feudalism ;* A Historiographical Critique' 'Presidential Address', *Indian History Congress, XL Session 1979,* Section I, pp. 19-32.

or erected during this period, are, as in the preceding centuries, mostly religious. Secondly the period witnessed a rapid decline of Buddhist shrines and a steady growth of Brahmanical shrines, mainly structural, and, to some extent, of Jain monuments. This shifting of religions, however did not affect the style of architecture in any way. In fact, stylistically speaking, there was nothing as Buddhist or Brahmanical style in Indian architecture. Thirdly, the rock-cut mode of architecture, as already noted, disappeared altogether by about the middle of the ninth century A.D. and the structural building made of permanent materials became the order of the day. Finally a steady growth and development is seen in the process of temple building and the temple form which began in the fourth century A.D. as a simple square structure with the flat roof slowly but steadily undergoes a number of evolutionary stages, both horizontally and vertically and finally develops into a mighty architectural complex of splendour and beauty by about the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D.

It would, indeed, be quite rewarding if one could establish a causal relationship between the course of architecture during the period from 700 A.D.-1300 A.D. on one hand and the set of values and features which went to form the pattern of the contemporary society on the other.

An attempt has recently been made to describe the art of India from *c.* A.D. 500-1300 as 'feudal' by high-lighting the influences of socio-cultural aspects of 'feudalism' on the function, nature and character of art.[12] The chief concern of the author seems to be to identify the forces behind the trends not of architecture but that of a super-organic element in architecture viz , the sculptural decorations especially the erotic ones. Some observations, however, have been made with regard to architecture also. It is argued, for instance, that the art of the period before A.D. 650 was chiefly patronised by *commercial* class, artisan and craft guilds while the art of the period from A.D. 650-1300 was supported mainly by kings, military 'chiefs who alone could own and donate land. 'To satisfy their inflated ego and the appetite for fame and glory the aristocratic and royal families of period competed with each other in building large and magnificient temples'.[13] Further it is concluded that, 'Art succeeded in this function of glorification and therefore failed in

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12. Devangana Desai, 'Art under Feudalism in India *c.* A.D. 500-1300', in *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 10-18.
13. *Ibid*, p. 16.

conveying higher qualities, feelings and values'.[14]   While royal patronage was always a key factor behind art activities and more particularly during the period of our study, it would be incorrect to suppose that Indian architecture was a product representing the interests of one particular class.   The patronage extended by local and village assemblies, merchant guilds and private individuals to the growth, development and main-tainance of temple buildings was not insignificant.

Arguments, however, can be advanced in favour of a positive rela-tionship between the newly emerging social patterns on the one hand and some significant trends in architecture on the other.   For instance, the complete switch-over from the rock-cut mode to the structural method in about the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., besides technical aspects has perhaps a social dimension too.   The rock-cut monuments by their very nature had to be located on mountains and hillocks often far away from the habitational areas. They were also chiefly meant for the ascetics. But by about the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., owing to the emer-gence of new religious movements and changes in the social patterns, the religious institutions came to play a dominant role in the life of the people.   Remarkable increase in the temple based or agrarian settlements during the latter half of the first millennium A.D. prove the fact that the plains and fertile regions and not the mountains were the centres of large scale architectural activities.   The function of the temple was also slowly encompassing various fields of human activity.   Though primarily meant for the service of religion, the temple was steadily emerging into a socially important and an economically resourceful institution.   Additional halls and subsidiary structures were becoming soon a necessity making the temple, in the process, a complex of structure.

The fact, however, remains that to whatever depth they may be carried, the studies in the socio-religious and economic patterns of the contemporary society, may, at best, explain the background of architec-ture ; they do not explain anything specific with regard to the structural beauty and intelligibility of the mounuments.   For instance, any amount of study of the socio-economic and religious aspects would not help us in solving problems such as—What were the methods adopted by the Indian architects to strike a balance between vertical and horizontal volumes of the buildings ? What was the structural weakness that caused the Sun temple at Konarak collapse ?   What was the architectural

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14. *Ibid.*

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effect of the *Uruśṛṅgas* on the *śikharas* of Khajuraho temples ? Why the *Bṛhadīśvara* temple at Gangaikondacholapuram though so close to its predecessor at Thanjavur in point of time and space, is so different in point of architectural effect and so on. That would be possible only by an intensive study of the plans, forms, elevation and other constructional principles of architecture and the outcome of such a study should alone form the basis for any classification in architecture.

V

The foregoing discussion, it is hoped, at least makes one point clear. That is, from the point of view of growth and evolution, the term 'medieval' is not a happy one to describe the architecture of India during the period from about A.D. 750-1300. In fact, if by the term 'medieval' something of a degeneration, or a diversion or a break in continuity is meant, there was, then, no 'medieval phase' at all in Indian architecture at least upto A.D. 1300. Thereafter certain historical forces terminated the architectural movement abruptly in major part of north India when it had just reached its classical expression, finality and zenith. Elsewhere in India, where historical forces were operating differently, it may be possible to postulate a 'medieval phase' in architecture in the sense of degeneration after about A.D. 1300.

SPOTLIGHT ON BUDDHISM FROM SOME LATE MEDIEVAL EPIGRAPHS

RAMA CHATTERJEE

Hindu rule over Bengal after the palmy days of the Pālas brought some changes in the destiny of Buddhism, which was in a tottering state under the imperial power of the Varmanas and the Senas, who paid little heed to this heterodox Church. Discovery of a small number of Buddhist images in comparison with those of earlier days professes sufficiently its declining condition. At last, a hard blow from the Muslim hordes finished the task of destructing this long-standing culture from the soil of Bengal and it took new shelter beyond the Himalayan regions.

After the downfall of the Sena empire, the site of Bodh-Gayā as the last centre of Buddhism in India, remained under the care of some *Piṭhīpatis*, who, from the middle of 11th century began to take control of Magadha. (*Piṭhīpati*, lord of Pīṭhī which means the Vajrāsana at Bodh-Gayā). We hear of *Piṭhīpatī* Bhīmayaśas, who was a feudatory of Rāmapāla and helped him during the Kaivarta revolution. An inscription from Janībigha dated in the 83rd expired year of Lakṣmaṇa's Saṁvat records the history of some *Piṭhīpatis* ruling over Bodh-Gayā.[1] Some other epigraphs of certain famous king, Aśokacalla, dated in the 51st and 74th expired year of Lakṣmaṇasena era, supply further data as regards the condition of this Buddhist site of remotest antiquity.[2] Aśokacalla was the king of Khasa country of the Sapādalakṣagiri, now located in the Kumaon and Garhwal. Out of these three inscriptions, that one, dated in the 51st year of Lakṣmaṇasena era, records the construction of a vihāra, styled Mahipukāla Prāhitya (?), by the above king at the request of some officials who installed an image of Buddha. The record further says that the Ceylonese monks were. provided with facilities to offer oblations of lamp before three *caityas*. After worship, materials were given to the collector Haricandra and to the cook Māmaka. The second inscription dated in the 74th year of Lakṣmaṇasena

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1. H. Pandey, 'Patna Museum Ins. of Jayasena', *JBORS*, Vol. IV, pp. 273 ff; commented upon by Jayaswal, *Ibid.*, p. 266 ; re-edited by N. G. Majumdar, *I.A.*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 43.

2. Bodh-Gayā inscription of Aśokacalla, year 51 and 74 of Lakshmaṇasena Era, *E.I.* Vol. XII, p. 27.

era mentions some unspecified offerings, made by Sahanapāla, who was the treasurer of Daśaratha, the younger brother of Aśokacalla. The names of Sahanapāla's father and grand-father respectively were Mahāmahattaka Mṛsi Brahma and Mahattaka Cāṭa Brahma. Another undated grant of Aśokacalla is too anomalous to supply the purpose of the record.[3] But importance of this record lies in the fact, that it mentions Aśokacalla's preceptor, Dharmarakṣita, and gives information regarding the existence of 1000 Ceylonese *sthaviras* in Bodh-Gayā during the period. Mention of Rāṇaka Śrī Brahma Caṭṭa and Sahajapāla in the above record bears some similarity with the names, viz, Cāṭa Brahma and Sahanapāla, given in the inscription of the year 74, referred to above. The above records give evidence of the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Bodh-Gayā even after the Sena rule was over.

The aforesaid Janibigha inscription belongs to one Jayasena and is provided with a painting of Buddha under the Bodhi-tree. The record is furnished with the evidence of land-gift made in a village Koṭṭhalā in the Saptaghaṭṭa district for the maintenance of the Diamond throne and of an attached monastery. The land was donated to a Ceylonese monk, Maṅgalasvāmin by the king Jayasena who was the *Pīṭhīpatī* or lord of Pīṭhī and was the son of one Buddhasena. Some scholars are willing to connect the line of Jayasena with the later Sena family, headed by one Lavasena II. In Tāranātha's history they are said to have ruled under the imperial power of the Turks. But the inscription bears no evidence of the said fact to be true. In Tāranātha, the dynasty of the later Sena kings includes one Buddhasena, but his son was Hāritasena instead of our Jayasena.[4] So, Buddhasena in this epigraph was a different personality. The title *Pīṭhīpatī* of Jayasena stands signifying a *Mohāt Mahārāja* who had his sway over Bodh-Gayā and neighbouring regions. Thus, the word does not carry the sense of any kingdom like Magadha but the *Pīṭhīpatis* themselves were like governors under the sovereign power of Magadhādhipatis. Their epithet 'Ācārya' is a further evidence to attest the above sense of the word *Pīṭhīpatī*. A fragmentary record from Bodh-Gayā[5] bearing the name

3. A Fragmentary Record of Aśokachalla, *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, 4th Saṁkhyā, 1317 B.S., p. 213.
4. *I.A.*, Vol. XLVIII, 1919, p. 45.
5. A Fragmentary Record from Bodh-Gayā, bearing the name Jayasena, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 143-44.

of one Jayasena having an epithet *Pīṭhīpatyācārya* in connection with a Kumārasena suggests that the above Jayasena seems to have been the same person of our inscription. In the record of a Buddhasena,[6] he being found entitled both *Ācārya* and *Pīṭhīpati* is probably the same person bearing the same name in the inscription of Jayasena. He is said to have made donation to Aśokacalla's guru Dharmarakṣita in his record. So Buddhasena was contemporaneous with the Khasa king Aśokacalla and his preceptor Dharmarakṣita. Here we may make mention of another record hailing from Bodh-Gayā dated in Nirvāṇa era 1813 = 1335 A.D.[7] It throws some interesting light on the family of Buddhasena. In this record we find the names of Aśokacalla and his guru Dharmarakṣita who, coming at Bodh-Gayā to pay a visit, was employed to supervise the building of a Gandhakūṭī under construction by a prince called Puruṣottama. This inscription further speaks of a king of Chinda family ruling over Bodh-Gayā. He might have been Buddhasena from the standpoint of his contemporaneity with Dharmarakṣita. In the light of the above statement, Buddhasena and Jayasena may be considered to be members of the Chinda family and not of the Sena family of Bengal, because the Senas had hardly any sway over Bihar in the late medieval period.

In this connection we should take note of the history of the Buddhist Madhusena who seems to have belonged to the Chinda family of Jayasena. In the Colophon of a Ms. of *Pañcharakṣdlā* (No. 4078) described in the *Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts* (Vol. I by H.P. Sastri), Madhusena has been called a king of Gauḍa at whose reign period the Ms. was copied down in Vaṅga in the Śaka year 1211=1289 A.D. On the basis of his title *Gauḍeśvara*, Mm. Sastri considers him to be a ruler of east Bengal. So some scholars try to connect him with the Sena family of Bengal. But he became a Buddhist.

About Madhusena's relation with the Chinda family Dr. J. C. Ghose[8] opines that after the downfall of the Senas in east Bengal, a new principality under *Gauḍeśvara* borne by Madhusena is far from evincing any authentic view, because of its popularity even among the local cheiftains who used to bear the above title in that time when

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6. Record of Buddhasena, *ibid.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 45.

7. Bhagavanlal Indraji, An Inscription at Bodh-Gayā, dated in Nirvāṇa Era 1813= 1335 A.D. *ibid*, Vol. X, p. 342.

8. Jogendra Nath Ghosh, 'The Chindas of Magadha and Gauḍeśvara Madhusena', *JASB*, N. S. Vol. XXIX, 1933, p. 23.

there was no imperial power in Bengal. So, this seems not to be a good reason to avert Madhusena's relation with the Sena's of Bengal. In *Tabakatl-Nasiri* (P 558) assertion is made on the continuity of Sena rule over Vaṅga (east Bengal) for a considerable time. Moreover, the Deva dynasty that declared independence, taking advantage of the declining Sena power was not able to restore the whole of the east Bengal. Thus, we cannot entirely put aside the substantive evidence of the epithet *Gaudeśvara*, borne by Madhusena. Had he been a member of the Chinda family, he would have ruled over Bodh-Gayā like his predecessors and not in any part of Bengal proper.

Trace of Buddhism in East Bengal in the 13th century is also known from the Mainamati Copper Plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla[9] Harikāla-deva hailing from Paṭṭikeraka. An official of Harikāladeva entitled *Aśvanivandhika* Śrī Dhaḍieba donated land in the village Bejakhaṇḍa for the maintenance of a monastery dedicated to the goddess Durgottārā.

To resume our discussion on the condition of Buddhism during the Varman and the Sena rule, we should take into consideration the mutual relationship between the heterodox and orthodox people of the country. There is a common belief that the revival of Hinduism under the protection of orthodox imperial power gave a hard blow to the growth of Buddhism. But what we can say against the view is that the Buddhists of the country were afforded all kinds of protection by them. They are charged with sectarian views that, we think, were present more or less in all imperial dynasties. In spite of outstanding religious tolerance shown by the Pālas of Bengal, trace of contradictory action done by them in favour of their religion cannot be entirely brushed aside. For instance, commemoration of the Somapuri Vihāra during the palmy days of the Pālas exposes a sense of sectarianism because Pāhārpur was a site of both Brahmanical and Jaina culture where no trace of Buddhism before the Pāla rule has yet come to light. Establishment of such a magnificent vihāra might have swallowed many places of sanctity belonging to other communities. The main temple of Pāhārpur was constructed on the main site of a Jaina Vihāra present there during the Gupta period. Such encroachment upon the place by the Buddhist community had surely been proposed by the Pāla king, with an inward intention for bringing the region under the control of Buddhist church.

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9. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya, 'The Mainamati copper-plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla Harikāladeva (Saka 1141)', *I H.Q.*, Vol. IX, 1933, Calcutta, pp. 282 ff.

Regarding malicious spirit of the Buddhist clergy shown towards the Hindu Community, we are astounded to come across many Hindu deities held in the humble position of a *Vāhana* or laid down at the feet of some Buddhist gods and goddesses. In the eleventh verse of the Nālandā Praśasti of Vipulaśrīmitra,[10] we find the same communal spirit in the laudation of the monk whose fame excelled over the supreme place of Hari—"*Harttuṁ Hareḥ padmivājani tatra tatra/Kīrttiryayā Vasumatī kṛitabhushaṇā bhuḥ*"). Similar idea in the Mainamati copper-plate of Raṇavaṅkamalla is found behind the description of the praiseworthy achievement accomplished by the Buddhist donor who caused Indra to fall from the heaven. (*Sitaiḥ prāsāde'pi nije sahasranayanojātāvani nāmitaḥ*)[11] Hindus, on the other hand, did not remain idle in expressing their secterian views towards other's faith. Stray references are sufficient to avail instances. In the Belāva copper-plate of Bhojavarman,[12] people without submission to the Vedas are blamed to be undrapped (*nagna*). This, no doubt, is sufficient to cast a crazy look on the opposite community. In Bhavadeva's praśasti[13] we have the same sectarian view. The father of the learned minister, Govardhana is reported to have crushed the pride of an assemblage of heretics. *Sabhāsu ca tīrthikānāṁ dorllolayā . . . . . .*) Moreover, Bhavadeva himself has been equated with the sage Agastya in "the sea of the Bauddhas", who was "clever enough in the judgement of heretic dialecticians". *Bauddhāmbhonidhikumbhasambhavamuniḥ   Pāṣaṇḍavaitāṇḍikaprajñākhaṇḍana-paṇḍito'yaṁ).

The famous work *Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena is scattered over with personal views of the author against the Buddhist doctrine. He declares himself to be an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa for uprooting the heretics.[14] Further, he has commented upon the reason for discarding the passages of Śiva, Vishṇu and Devi Purāṇas from his said treatise polluted because of their being interpolated by the hands of Pāṣaṇḍas (Śl. 29). Again we know that it was Lakṣmaṇasena who ordered Buddhist Puruṣottamadeva to compose his famous grammatical treatise *Laghuvṛitti* on the model of Pāṇini. But these stray references

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10. N. G. Majumdar, 'Nālandā Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra', *E.I.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97ff.

11. I.H.Q.. Vol. IX, pp. 97 ff.

12. N. G. Majumdar, '*Inscriptions of Bengal*', Vol. III, Rajshahi, 1920, pp. 14-24.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-41.

14. Dānasāgara of Ballālasena, ed. Bhavatosh Bhattacharya, verse 99 at the end of the work, "*Dharmasyābhyudayāya nāstikapadocchedāya jātaḥ kalau.*

regarding sectarian attitude of some individuals cannot go against the general trend of religious view which, we think, was usually liberal during the period of the Senas as it was looked upon by the Pālas of Bengal.

It was in this Sena period when Jayadeva in his *Gītagovinda*[15] offered his devoted salutation to Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu :—

> *Nindasi yajñavidheraha śrutijātaṁ|*
> *Sadayahṛdayadarśitapaśughātaṁ|*
> *keśayadhṛta Buddhaśarīra Jayajagadīśa hare*
> *(Gītagovinda, Śl. No. 9)*

The temparament of the poet is completely different from that of the Purāṇakāras, who regarded Buddha to be a great personality, so far as he was concerned with the task of deluding the daityas from Vedic sacrifices.

It is apparent from their outlook that Buddha was an upholder of the Vedas. Here, in the *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, for the first time, the poet expressed his devotion to Buddha as a critic of the Vedas, who condemdlned all kinds of animal sacrifices.

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15. *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, Śl. No. 9.

BRĀHMANAS IN MEDIEVAL ORISSA
(*Cir.* A.D. 1000-1500)
SHISHIR KUMAR PANDA

The meideval society of Orissa was based upon the age old tradi-
tional caste system like Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra which
are known as the four *varṇas*. Among the four *varṇas* the Brāhmaṇas
were the most powerful section in the society enjoying special prerogatives.
They were the powerful members of the government and land owning
aristocracy, wielding substantial political and economic power. The
Brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vedas and Dharma-
śāstras were patronised by the ruling dynasties of Orissa. Here an
attempt will be made to study their position, role and function in
the society in the period under review.

Royal patronage to the Brāhmaṇas in Orissa goes as far back as
the 4th century A.D. during the rule of the Māṭharas.[1] For the first
time in the history of Orissa, we find the land grants to the Brāhmaṇas by
the Māṭharas. From that time onwards, the land grants to the Brāhmaṇas
consist the main thread for the study of economic life of Orissa. Various
ruling dynasties like the Śailōdbhavas, Bhaumakaras, Somavaṁśīs and
Bhañjas invited Brāhmaṇas from outside Orissa and made land donations
to settle them in the country.[2]

Coming to the period under our review we find the largest number
of copper-plate grants to Brāhmaṇas by the later eastern Gaṅgas and
Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis. The main feature of these landgrants is that
we do not find any single grant made to the Buddhist or the Jaina
establishments, although such practices were made in Bhaumakara,

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1 The Korasonda plates of Viśākhavarman is the earliest landgrant found in
Orissa (*Epigraphia Indica.* Henceforth *EI*), Vol. XXI, pp. 23-25.

2 A. P. Sah, *Life in Medieval Orissa, Cir. 600-1200 A.D.,* Varanasi, 1976,
pp. 119-20.

Śailōdbhava and Sōmavaṁśī periods.[3]   This indicates definite Brahmanical ascendancy in this period.

I. Establishment of Brāhmaṇa Colonies

The kings were establishing Brahmanical pockets in the villages by
the grant of land to groups of Brāhmaṇas. The Korni copper-plate[4]
of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅgadeva, dated 1082 A.D., records the grant
of a village Khonnā enclosed by four boundaries to three hundred
Brāhmaṇas of several *gōtras* and devoted the six religious rites. The
Orissa Museum plates[5] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (A.D. 1213-1238) record
the grant of 125¼ *vāṭis* of land to six group of Brāhmaṇas belonging to
different *gōtras*. Sūryavaṁśī Gajapatis, who succeeded the Gaṅgas were ·
also establishing new Brahmanical settlements. The Chiruvroli grant[6]
of Hambīradeva, dated 1461 A.D., records the grant of a village, Ciruvroli,
to a number of Brāhmaṇas. These inscriptions clearly show that by
making some grants the kings were intending possibly to establish new
Brāhmaṇa colonies, the colonies of elite groups of the then society. Even
today, numerous villages of modern Orissa bear names with the suffix
śāsana indicating thereby that they were originally gift villages created
by the rulers.

II. Migration of Brāhmaṇas to Orissa

A number of Brāhmaṇas also migrated to Orissa from outside.
Orissa was at that time one of the main religious centres and meeting
point of various religious threads. The Bhubaneswar praśasti[7] refers

3 For grants to Buddhist and Jaina establishments, see Talcher plate of
   Śivakara III (B. Mishra, *Dynasties of Medieval Orissa,* Calcutta, 1933,
   pp. 40-50) , Banpur Copper-plate of Dharmarāja II, *EI,* Vol. XI, pp. 281-87
   and Mallar copperplate of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, *EI,* Vol. XXIII,
   pp. 113ff.
4 *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* (Henceforth *JAHRS*),
   Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 40-48.
5 *Orissa Historical Research Journal,* (Henceforth *OHRJ*) Vol. XII, pp. 164-96.
6 *EI,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 177-88.
7 F. Kielhorn, 'Eulogy of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāvadeva Bālavalabhibhujaṅga,' *EI,* Vol. VI,
   pp. 198-207.

to Bhaṭṭa Bhāvadeva. a Brāhmana of Sāvarṇa-gōtra, who was born in the village of Siddhāla in Rāḍhā, confirms the definite brahmanical migration to Orissa. The Imperial Gaṅgas who had matrimonial relations with the Cōḷas of South preferred the southern Brāhmaṇas to settle in Orissa. The Bhubaneswar inscription[8] of Narasimhadeva, dated 1396 A.D., refers to the ascetics of Cōḍadeśa, Pāṇḍyadeśa and Kāñcīdeśa who were settled in Orissa and obtained initiations in various mathas. These Brāhmaṇas were called Dākṣiṇātya Brāhmaṇas. It may be because the northern Indian Brāhmaṇas were regarded as polluted due to the Muslim invasion, so they preferred the southern Brāhmaṇas. The Mādlā Pāñji says that king Anaṅgabhīmadeva, the rebuilder of the temple of Jagannātha founded 450 Brāhmaṇa colonies in the Puri district.[9] Besides this, a number of Brāhmaṇas migrated to Orissa with the Vaiṣṇava saint Śrī Caitanya and settled at Puri.[10]

III. *Brāhmaṇas : Their Gōtras and Pravaras*

Though the *Matsya Purāṇa*[11] degraded the Brāhmaṇas by residence in Orissa, the inscriptions give us a list of a number of Brāhmaṇas settled in Orissa.[12] Besides their names, the inscriptions provide details of their original home, names of ancestors, *gōtras, pravaras* and *caraṇas*. The main distinction recognised among the Brāhmaṇas were those of the *gōtras* and *pravaras* which were the family lineage. All of the Brāhmaṇas of this period used different titles which indicate their rank and scholarship. Among the titles, *Bhaṭṭa, Śarmā, Svāmi, Upādhyāya* and *Ācārya* seem to be more popular. The copper plate grants of the period of our review give us the names of a number of *gōtras* and *pravaras*, a mention of which is made below :

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8   *EI*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 299 ff

9   W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X, p. 434.

10 A. K. Majumdar, *Caitanya, His Life and Doctrine—A Study in Vaiṣṇavism*, Bombay, 1969, pp. 160, 196.

11 *Matsya Purana*, Vangavasi Press, B.S. 1361. XVI, 16.

12 For a complete list of Brāhmanical settlements in medieval Orissa see the author's M. Phil dissertation, 'Economic Conditions in Orissa under the Later Eastern Gaṅgas A.D. 1036-1434' (unpublished) submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University, (New Delhi, 1978) pp. 21-30.

DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS AS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

References	Gotras	Pravaras	Caraṇas	Śākhās
The Copper plates of Rājarāja I (*JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163-91) of 1037 A.D.	Vātsa *gōtra* Kāśyapa	—	—	—
The Copper-plates of Anantavarmadeva, *ibid.*	Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa	—	—	Kānva
Murupaka copper-plate grant of Anantavarman Codagaṅgadeva (*JAHRS* Vol. XII, pp. 9-16) of 1084 A.D.	Bharadvāja	—	—	—
Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III, (*EI*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 249-62) of 1199 A.D.	Kāśyapa, Kauśīka, Huṇḍinya (Kauṇḍinya?), Bharadvāja, Parāśara, Rathitara, Kṛṣṇātreya, Kuddālaka Gārgya, Vātsa, Ghṛtakauśīka, Varṣāgaṇa, Ālamvāyana			
Nagari Plates of Anaṅgabhima III, (*EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-258) of	Ghṛtakauśīka, Bharadvāja, Rathitara, Kāśyapa,	(Ritvikas) Dhṛtikara,		Kānva branch of the *Yajurveda*,

DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS AS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

References	Gotras	Pravaras	Caraṇas	Śākhās
1230 A.D.	Putimāṣa		Ananta Viśveśvara Yajña, Sidhu Śaṅkara, Mādhara, Pṛthvidhara	Kauṭham branch of the *Sāmaveda*
The Orissa Museum Plates of Aniyakabhīma III (*OHRJ*, Vol. XII, pp. 164-196) of *Cir.* 1121 A.D.—1238 A.D.	Bharadvāja, Vātsa, Māṇḍavyāsa Kāśyapa, Putimāṣa			Mādhyandina
The Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II, (1294 A.D., *EI*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 17-24).	Vātsa Putimāṣa	·	Bhārgava, Cyavana Apnuvāt, Aruva, Jamādagnya	Kānva branch of the *Yajurveda*, Sākala branch of the *Rgveda*
Kendupatana Plates of Narasiṁha II, (*EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 185-195) of 1294 A.D.	Kāśyapa	·	Kāśyapa, Avatsara Naidhruva	
Puri Copper Plate Inscription of Gaṅga Bhānu II, (*JASB*, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26) of 1312 A.D.	Vātsa Putimāṣa	·	Bhārgava, Caraṇa, Apanuvāt, Aruva, Jamādagnya	Kānva Branch of the *Yajurveda* the *Yajurveda* Sākala branch of the *Rgveda*

DIFFERENT SECTIONS OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS AS KNOWN FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS

References	Gotras	Pravaras	Caraṇas	Śākhās
The Kenduli Copper Plate grant of Narasiṁhadeva IV, (*OHRJ*, Vol. V, pp. 1-80) of 1384 A.D.	Kauṇḍinya			Kānva branch of the Yajurveda
Two Grants of Raghudeva (*EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 1-18) of 1456 A.D.	Kauṇḍinya			Yajurveda
A copper plate grant of Gaṅgadeva of Kondavidu, (*IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 390-93) of 1457 A.D.	Kāśyapa, Śrīvatsa, Bharadvāja, Hārita, Gārgya, Kauṇḍinya, Ātreya			Yajurveda
Veligalani Grant of Kapileśvara (*EI*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 275-291) of 1458 A.D.	Kāśyapa, Āṅgirasa Bharadvāja, Maudgalya, Bharadvāja, Śrīvatsa Kāśyapa, Kauśika, Kauṇḍinya, Vadhula, Gārgya, Ātreya, Gautama			Ṛgveda, Yajurveda
Chiruvroli Grant of Hambira (*EI*, XXXIV, pp. 177-188) of 1468 A.D.	Kāśyapa, Ātreya, Hārita Kauśika, Bharadvāja, Kauṇḍinya Lauhitya, Kutsa, Śrīvatsa Gautama			Yajurveda Agraveda Bāhvṛca
Velicherla Grant of Prataparudra Gajapati, (*EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 205-211) of 1511 A.D.	Bharadvāja			Yajus Śākhā

IV. *Functions of the Brāhmaṇas*

A. Worship and Performance of Religious Rites.

The main functions performed by the Brāhmaṇas were the worship and performance of religious rites. The rulers, members of the royal family and officers were granting land to the Brāhmaṇas for worship in various temples for the attainment of religious merit for them and for their ancestors. The Murupaka copper-plate[13] grant of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅgadeva, dated 1084 A.D., registers the grant of a village Murupaka to five Brāhmaṇas on the occassion of Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti for rendering services like worshipping and maintenance of God Narendradeva. The Puri plates[14] of Narasiṁhadeva IV, dated 1395 A.D., record the grant of one hundred *vāṭis* of land with the temple of Ugreśvaradeva to Brāhmaṇa Devarathācārya, the priest of the same temple. This shows that the Brāhmaṇas were gaining wealth and power in the way of worship.

The construction of massive Hindu temples and religious establishments in medieval Orissa can tell us the number of priests attached to the temples scattered in different parts of the country. Besides their function as priests, they used to perform a lot of social functions like marriage fixation, marriage ceremony, *homa*, sacred thread ceremony, funeral ceremony etc. Kavi Viṣṇu Das[15] (1590 A.D.) in his *Kāvya-Kaḷāvatī* has written about a Brāhmaṇa who mediates for marriage settlement. Some of the Brāhamaṇas were also functioning as astrologers *(Sarvajña)*. The Orissa Museum plates[16] of Anaṅgabhīma III (A.D. 1211-1238) record the names of some Brāhamaṇa astrologers *(Jyōtiṣa)* among other donees.

This is possible that a small number of Brāhmaṇas, taking advantage of their birth, royal patronage and priestly functions live as parasites in the society exploiting the people in the name of God.

B. Brāhamaṇa Officials :

The territorial expansion of the Gaṅga and Gajapati empires led to the recruitment of a large number of Brāhmaṇas for the administrative machinery. The inscriptional evidences found in different areas show that

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13 *JAHRS*, Vol, XII, pp. 9-16.
14 *EI*, Vol XXVIII, pp. 302-12.
15 Ed. K. N. Mahapatra, (Bhubaneswar, 1961) pp. 4-7.
16 *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, pp. 164-96.

the Brāhmaṇas formed the main bulk of the officers in medieval Orissa. The Nagari plates[17] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III, dated 1231 A.D., refer to a Brāhmaṇa officer Gaṅgādhara Ācārya of Putimāṣa-gōtra who was serving as a *Śāsanādhikārin*. The Alālpur plates[18] of Narasiṁhadeva II, dated 1294 A.D., refer to a *Kōṣādhyakṣa* named Halāyuddha, who was a Brāhmaṇa of Vātsa-*gōtra* having the Bhārgava, Cyavana, Āpnuvat, Aruva Jāmadagnya-*pravaras* and was a studeut of tha Kānva branch of the *Yajurveda*. The Puri copper-plate [19] of Gaṅga Bhānu II, dated 1312 A.D. refers to Brāhmaṇa *Sandhivigrahikas* Śrī Raṅgadāsa Śarman and Apayiśarman who were Brāhmaṇa officers. From the Kenduli copper-plate grant we also know that a Brāhmaṇa named Narahari Dāsapraharāja was serving as a *Mahāpātra* under Narasiṁhadeva IV.

Sometimes the rulers preferred Brāhmaṇa ministers. Narahari Tīrtha, the *Dvaita* pontiff, who is known from the inscriptions[20] at Simhachalam and Srikurman, dated from A.D. 1264 to 1293, acted as a regent during the minority of Bhānudeva I and later became his minister. The Gajapatis also employed *brāhmaṇa* officers and ministers. The Gopinathpur Inscription[21] refers to a prominent minister Gopināth Mahāpātra who helped the emperor to win hiś wars against the Sultans of Bengal and Malwa. Both he and his elder brother Nārāyaṇa were the sons of the royal priest Lakṣmaṇa Purōhita and were ministers under king Kapileśvaradeva.

From the survey of inscriptions, it seems that the Brāhmaṇas were holding the major posts in the administration. Besides in the civil posts many Brāhmaṇas served as successful military officers. The Dirghasi inscription,[22] dated 1075 A.D., states that Bāṇapati defeated the rulers of Veṅgi, Utkala, Kimidi, Gidriśiṅgi and also one Dāddarṇava. He was the son of Gōkarṇa, a Brāhmaṇa of *Ātreya-gōtra*. He came from a hereditary family of *Pratihāras*.

C. Education and Learning

The Brāhmaṇas settled in Orissa were well versed in various vedic śāstras. Many inscriptions refer to the Brāhmaṇa donees who were

17 *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-58.
18 *EI*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 17-24.
19 *Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal* (henceforth *JASB*), Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26.
20 *EI*, Vol. VI, p. 226.
21 *JASB*, Vol. LXII, pp. 175 ff.
22 *EI*, Vol. IV, pp. 314-18.

conversant with the vedic rites and śāstras. The Nagari plates[23] of Anaṅgabhīma III, dated 1231 A.D., register grant of land to a number of Brāhmaṇa donees who were students of Kāṇva branch of the *Yajurveda*, *Kautham* branch of *Sāmaveda*, *Ṛgveda* and other Vedas. Many Brāh- maṇa donees were attached to educational institutions and monasteries. They were generally patronised and financed by the kings. The Orissa Museum plates[24] of Anaṅgabhīmadeva III refer to a *Maṭha* where Vedas, Vyākaraṇas and Purāṇas were taught, received nine *vāṭis* of landgrant. Here also we find the names of a number of scholars (*paṇḍita*) among the donees, who were experts in vedas and śāstras. These Brāhmaṇa donees were attached to the *Maṭha* for the purpose of teaching.

Besides this a number of Brāhmaṇa scholars were patronised by the Gaṅga and Gajapati kings. Viśvanātha and Yogīśvara Pātra were the famous court poets in the time of Gaṅgas.[25] Yogīśvara Pātra composed *Dāna Dipāvalī* and Viśvanātha composed *Sāhitya Darpaṇa* and *Candra- kalā Nāṭikā*. Three reputed scholars named Jaleśvara Miśra, Nārāyaṇa Miśra and Narasiṁha Miśra Vājapeyi flourished during the reign of Kapilendradeva.[26] Among the famous *Pañcasakhā* group of poets of medieval Orissa two were Brāhmaṇas.[27] There were also other Brāhmaṇa poets like Śrī Jivadevācārya, *Paṇḍita* Godāvara Miśra, Mārkaṇḍeya Miśra and Divākara Miśra.[28] Kaviḍiṇḍima Jivadeva Ācārya[29] who composed *Bhaktibhāgavata* in Sanskrit was the spiritual guide of the Gajapati king Pratāparudra (1497-1540 A.D.). He obtained eight golden fly-whisks, one golden umbrella and a drum as rewards from the king for his contribution towards the cause of learning.

D. Agriculture

The *agrāhāra* and *brahmadeya* grants to the Brāhmaṇas with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise with the exemption of all taxes (*Sa-jala-sthala-matsya-kach-pa-sahitam-ā-candr-*

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23 *EI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-58.

24 *OHRJ*, Vol. XII, pp. 164-96.

25 H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa*, Vol I, (Cuttack, 1959) pp. 258-59.

26 K. N. Mahapatra, Ed. *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts of Orissa*, (Bhubaneswar, 1961) Preface, p. XVII.

27 D. Mohanty, *Panchasakha Oriya Sahitya*, Cuttack, 1978.

28 H. K. Mahatab, *op. cit.*

29 D. C. Sircar, 'A Manuscript of Jivadeva's *Bhaktivaibhava*' Indian Studies, Past and Present, Vol. IV, No. 1, 1962, pp. 105-10.

ārkkam-ākarī-kṛtya pradāt),[30] created a classs of Brāhmaṇa landed-magnates in Orissa. Since the Brāhmaṇas possessed a lion's share of land, they were not able to cultivate themselves. In many cases the lands granted to the Brāhmaṇas were not cultivated by them but by the temporary peasants. Saraladas[31] in his *Mahābhārata* says that Sureśvara Paṇḍā was conducting agriculture by a daily labourer named Tapatī. Some of the Brāhmaṇas were also personally tilling the soil.[32] Balaram Das[33] in his *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa* has stated that Santha Paṇḍā, a Brāhmaṇa was maintaining his family by gardening profession.

E. Other Professions

A class of Brāhmaṇas adopted trade as their profession. But it seems that their number is very small. It is interesting to note that, though the sale of horses by Brāhmaṇas is forbidden by *Manu*,[34] it was practised by a small group of Brāhmaṇas in Orissa. Two inscriptions[35] from Srikurmam, one in Telugu and other in Oriya, dated 1402 A.D., refer to one Ṛṣidānāyaka, son of Pragoḍā Upādhyāya and grandson of Viṣṇudāsa Upādhyāya, was a trader in horses (*ghōḍa vānījara*). The epigraph also mentions that Ṛṣidāsa Nāyaka of *Kāśyapa-gōtra* belonged to Pottunuru and brother of one Lādde Surathāna, a *Kaliṅga Vyāpāriṇ*. However, this type of trade in horses by Brāhmaṇas were prevalent in northern India.[36]

30　See Alalpur plates of Narasiṁha II, dated 1294 A.D., *EI*, Vol. XXI, pp. 17-24.

31　*Sarala Mahābhārata*, (Radha Ramana Press, Cuttack, 1955-56, Svargārohaṇa parvan, p 2.

32　In this context Saraladas has given a nice story. Once there lived a *Brāhmaṇa* named Śiva on the banks of the river Vaitaraṇī. His son Nirmala was a cowherd boy. He daily used to offer a stone on a *Śiva liṅgam*. Once both father and son were taking their food in the field. Suddenly Nirmala remembered that he has not offered a stone on the *liṅgam* on that day. So he rushed to the *liṅgam* and offered a stone. At that moment Śiva appeared before the boy and asked him for a boon and Nirmala asked for a piece of land which was granted by the Lord. From that day the Brāhmaṇas took the profession of agriculture. Madhya Parva, p. 14).

33　Balaram Das, *Jagamōhana Rāmāyaṇa*, Vol. I (Cuttack, Date not mentioned), Lanka, p. 205.

34　*Manu*, X. 89.

35　*South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, Nos. 1080, 1176.

36　The Pehoa inscription of the 9th century A.D. records that Vanuka, the son of Bhaṭṭa Virūka was one of the horse dealers, who assembled in the town of Pṛthudaka, *EI*, Vol. I, p. 184.

Some of the Brāhmaṇas had also taken the profession of masons. The Sobhaneswara inscription[37] of Sri Vaidyanātha states that Sāvaṇa, by caste a Brāhmaṇa was a great artist like Māyā of old who constructed the Śiva temple.

V. *Conclusion*

A survey of the above discussions show that Brāhmaṇas played a vital role in medieval Orissa. By the process of grant of land to Brāhmaṇas, they served as an important means of bringing virgin soil under cultivation. They were not introduced to the villages as pioneering cultivators but as the number of land-owing Brāhmaṇas went on increasing some of them possibly left the priestly function and might have turned their attention to the management of land and other secular activities. They might have spread new methods of cultivation in the rural areas. They taught the people not only the use of agricultural implements and manure but also popularised agriculture by giving them the idea of seasons and recurrence of rains. They introduced the Vedic culture, education, learning which helped for the material prosperity of the people. These enterprising Brāhmaṇas proved eligible for the function of the state and provided administrative mechanism for collection of taxes and maintenance of law and order. The Brāhmaṇas who came from outside Orisaa brought close to one another within the orbit of the same culture. They gave the people art, literature, script and a sense of higher life. For all these functions, they commanded respect of the rest of the Hindu society of the region.

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37   *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. III, Pt. 2, No. 280, p. 347.

COPPER HOARD OF WEST BENGAL—
AN APPRAISAL

ARUN K. NAG

MADHUSREE DAS

Since 1822, various copper implements which were mostly found in the Gangetic plain in the form of hoards, attracted the attention of scholars. The features differentiating the hoards of the Gangetic plain with the copper implements found in other parts of our Subcontinent are : a) typical tools like shouldered celt, double-edged axe, harpoon, anthropomorphic figure etc., b) its unassociation with any habitational remains and c) the 'hoard' form.[1]

The findspots of copper hoard spotted the whole of the Gangetic plain including a few sites in the Chotanagpur Plateau, Madhya Pradesh (Gungeria), Mysore (Kallur) etc.

The different types of tools found are : i) flat celt, ii) shouldered celt, iii) bar-celt, iv) hatchet or 'Paraśu,' v) harpoon, vi) antennae sword, vii) hooked spearhead, viii) double-edged axe, ix) anthropomorphic figure, x) rings, xi) pick (?) etc.

Among those, (ii), (iii), (viii) and (xi) have a distinct south-easterly distribution.[2] But they cannot be singled out from the whole assemblage

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1 Failing to understand these distinctive features of Copper Hoard tools, which made them different from other implements found from Chalcolithic to Early Historic phases, recently two scholars (Amita Ray and Asoke Kumar Dutta, 'Copper Hoard Culture in West Bengal : A Review of the Problem', *Journal of Ancient Indian History* Vol. XI, 1977-78, pp. 58-65) included the flat copper celt of Mahisadal, a chalcolithic site in the Birbhum District within Copper Hoard implements. Neither the said type is typical of Copper Hoard, nor any other typical Copper Hoard tool was found alongwith. The excavator of that site, who realised its true nature, never claimed it as a Copper Hoard implement.

2 Ray and Datta (*ibid.*, p. 58) preferred to give a label 'plateau type' on the following tools : flat celt, bar-celt, shouldered axe (celt ?), ring and dish (disc ?). In fact, the tool types of eastern region can be divided into three groups, those found from the Chotanagpur Plateau, those from West Bengal and those from Orissa, with occasional interminglings between them. So it is simply confusing to label the whole assemblage as 'plateau type', because the types found in the Chotanagpur Plateau do not represent all the eastern regional types. Secondly, it is also difficult to understand why flat celts (which have been found in almost all protohistoric sites of India and are of of known

due to the similarity of their general characteristics and for the existence of common implements like ring, bar-celt, shouldered celt etc. and the 'linking' tools like shouldered celt.[3]

The first recorded copper hoard implement, discovered within the present political boundary of West Bengal, was a shouldered celt, found near the village Tamajuri,[4] Midnapur District. It is 17·9 cm. long, 15·7 cm. wide and the maximum thickness is ·6 cm. Its weight is 1436 gm. The butt has concave sides and the cutting edge is more than a half circle. The implement is now lodged in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. A similar implement was found from Chatla[5] in the same district. This specimen is 20 cm. in length and 18 cm. in breadth, its maximum thickness being 2 cm. Three similar celts and one pick like object were found from Kulgara,[6] Purulia District. These celts are almost identical in shapes and dimensions. Their length, breadth and thickness vary from

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authorship) should be included indiscriminately within 'Copper Hoard' tools. Lal, to whom Ray and Datta referred very frequently commented, 'they (flat celts) occur at Harappa and several other protohistoric sites of the Indus valley. Jorwe, 47 miles south east of Nasik, Bombay State, has yielded four of them. But the type is so simple that not much can be based on its occurrence' (B. B. Lal, 'Further Copper Hoards from the Gangetic Basin and A Review of the Problem', *Ancient India,* No. 7, 1951 pp. 20 ff.). Allchins echoed the same view (Allchin, Bridget and Raymond, *The Birth of Indian Civilization,* Middlesex, 1968, pp. 202-204). Apart from its appellation as a type tool, nobody except Ray and Datta ever ventured to call it a 'Copper Hoard' tool, unless and until it was found in association with typical Copper Hoard implements. Thirdly, why the bar-celts (also found in Gungeria in Madhya Pradesh and Bahadarabad and Rajpur Parasu in Uttar Pradesh), rings (also found in Mainpuri, Bahadarabad in Uttar Pradesh, Pondi in Madhya Pradesh etc.) should be the 'distinctive types' of the 'plateau' ? Similarly, why the authors excluded the double-edged axe, the exclusive tool of eastern region, is inexplicable.

3 About a shouldered celt found from Indilapur, Shahjahanpur District (Uttar Pradesh), Lal opined, 'from the point of view of shape the specimen occupies an intermediary position between the flat and shouldered types of celts" (Lal, *op. cit.* p· 29).

4 Anderson, *Catalogue of Archaological Collections in Indian Museum,* Calcutta, 1883, Pt. II, pp. 485-86 ; and also V. Smith, *Indian Antiquary,* XXXIV, 1905, p. 232.

5 *Indian Archaeology—A Review,* 1965-66, p. 58.

6 *Indian Archaelogy—A Review,* 1971-72, p. 51.
   Ray and Datta (*loc. cit.*) described the pick like object as a bar-celt. But that elongated tool has two blunt points without having even any trace of splayed or chisel edge.

2o to 21·5 cm., 15 to 18·5 cm., and 1 to 1·5 cm., respctively. They weigh uniformly 2500 gm. The pick like object has two blunt points, probably worn out due to severe use and is 45·5 cm. long, 5·25 cm. wide and 3 cm. thick. It weighs 2700 gm. Two shouldered celts, eleven rings and a few discoidal lumps were discovered at Aguibani[7] in the Midnapur District. One of these celts is broken, the complete specimen being 18·7 cm. long, 16·4 cm. wide and 1·5 cm. thick. It weighs 2160 gm. The fragmentary one is 12 cm. long, 10 cm. wide and 1 cm. thick. It weighs 565 gm. Two shouldered celts and a fragmentary pick were found at Bhaktabandh,[8] Bankura District. The length. breadth and thickness of one celt are 24·8 cm., 22·9 cm. and 1·5 cm. respectively and the other, which is a smaller one, is 19 cm. long, 15 cm. broad and 1·5 cm. thick. The fragmentary pick is 13·3 cm. long, 3·2 cm. wide and 1·5 cm thick. The copper imple- ments of Chatla, Kulgara, Aguibani and Bhaktabandh are now in the custody of the State Archaeological Gallery, West Bengal. At Parihati,[9] Midnapur District, six double-edged axes,[10] one bar celt and a massive ring were found. Excepting one axe all the objects were acquired by the Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta.[11] The dimen- sions of the five axes and the bar celt are :

	Length	Breadth	Thickness
1. Axe	36·5	28·5	·5 cm.
2. Axe	31·7	25·5	,, ,,
3. Axe	27.5	24	,, ,,
4. Axe	25 5	21·2	,, ,,
5. Axe	23·3	20·7	,, ,,
6. Bar celt	28·1	2·9	1.6 ,,

7 Ray and Datta (op. cil., p. 60) cited an imaginary number of tools (4 celts, 20 rings, 2 discs etc.).

8 Ray and Datta (op. cit., p. 60) cited and imaginary number (3 shouldered celts and 1 bar-celt) again. Besides that their unawareness about the essential feature of a bar-celt led them to describe a broken pick as a bar-celt.

9 The find of Parihati Copper hoard was first brought to notice by Sri Tapas Banerjee 'Copper Hoard Implements from Parihati (Jhargram)', Smaranika, Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta, 1977).

10 Ray and Datta (op. cit.), in all probability, were not certain about the typologi- cal identification of the double-edged axe of Parihati. That type, which is unanimously known as double-edged axe, has been termed by them as 'double- edged axe' (pp. 60, 62), 'thin-edged double axe' (p. 62), 'double shouldered axe' (p. 64), 'thin edged shouldered axe' (p. 64) and 'shouldered axe' (Plate I, No. 2).

11 Ray and Dutta, who claimed themselves as the discoverers of Parihati tools on behalf of the Department of Archaeology, University of Calcutta, can only explain how that unrecorded implement, which has not been deposited in the Departmental Museum, found its way to one's personal collection.

The weight of the largest axe is 1·800 gm. and that of the smallest one is 500 gm.   The bar celt weighs 700 gm.   The weight of the massive circular ring is 2·600 gm.

Except the Parihati materials, all the implements of West Bengal are the production of 'single open mould' technique.   The porosity of the surface indicates rapid cooling whereas scarcity of secondary finishing marks are conspicuous enough.   The rings were made out of rods and shaped by bending them in desired shapes.   The double edged axes are evidently production of a much better technology.   They were first moulded then hammered and lastly finished by chopping out the excess portions.   The sharp edges were also formed by hammering.   The massive ring is a unique example, possibly a production of *cire perdue* technique subsequently finished by a skilled hand.

It is very difficult to speculate the date and cultural association of the copper hoards found in West Bengal.   In north-western India, the copper hoards are generally associated with the Ochre Coloured Ware, which is mainly based on the evidence of Saipai.[12]   It is rather irrelevant to discuss here about the creditability of the Saipai evidence or the homogeneity of the Ochre Coloured Ware,[13] because not a single sherd of that ware has been found in West Bengal.   On the basis of typological anylysis including the factor of technological characteristics, eastern copper hoards (except the finds of Parihati——→and Bhagra Pir, which are evidently the productions of much better technology) not only form a separate group from those of the Gangetic Plains, but their crude manufacturing technique may be an evidence of earlier date.   Another possible correlation of the West Bengal copper hoards can be drawn with the copper implements yielded from the chalcholithic sites of the same province.   A single specimen of flat celt found in Period I of Mahisadal[14] (Birbhum District), has its parallel in copper hoard implements of the Gangetic Plains and other early historic sites.   Their chronological horizon extends from *c.* 1200 B.C. to 300 B.C.   The crude craftsmanship and the typical shapes of the copper hoard tools suggest that these implements may be earlier in date than the one found at Mahisadal.   But as we are too conscious about the danger of such assumptions which are not supported by any corroborating evidence but based on typological analyses, no definite conclusion has been made.

12   B. B. Lal, 'Proceedings of the Seminar on O.C.P. and N.B.P.', *Purātattva*, 1971-72, pp. 46-49.

13   *Loc. cit.*

14   *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1960.

CRANIAL SURGERY IN ANCIENT INDIA :
TREPANATION OF SKULL
AMIYA KUMAR ROYCHOWDHURY

Due to the absence of any written records about trepanation of skull during protohistoric period prior to the Ayurvedic period, one has to depend on skeletal discoveries for any knowledge about cranial surgery. In a previous communication entitled 'Trepanation in ancient India',[1] I mentioned about two such cases from tall and long-headed, early population of Harappa, unearthed from the Cemetery R37, representing the mature Harappan Culture. (Fig. 1.)

In the present communication, three more cases of trepanation of skull have been described. Of these three, two were obtained from the cemetery area (KLB 8) lying on the west of the citadal mound (KLB 1) of Kalibangan, another Harappan site in Rajasthan. Its date may be attributed to a period between 2370 to 2000 B.C. Another skull was recorded from Burzahom, a neolithic site in Kashmir.

Two skulls with definite trepanation have been found from Kalibangan. 1. The first skull (KLB 8 gr. 9) seems to be that of a child. On the right squamous temporal bone (Fig. 2) there are six marks of trepanation of which three have pierced through the skull while the remaining three are incomplete. There is a curvilinear track of superficial charring of bone measuring about 1 cm. extending between the two holes on the top. This charring further extends towards the parietal eminence. The charring could also be detected near the bottom holes on the squamous temporal bone. The anterior bottom hole is bigger, about 3 mm. in diameter, where two attempts were made with the trepan at the same spot. Three more trephine holes could be detected on the forehead (Fig. 3.) near the glabella with evidence of charring extending between those holes. On careful examination, an increased, porosity of the bone around the trepanation sites could be detected, indicative of a diffuse vascular inflammatory reaction during the lifetime of the subject.

This skull seems to have a slight bulge on the right temporal region as confirmed by the skiagraphy of skull Fig. 3).

From the nature of the above findings it appears that the child had some intracranial space-occupying lesion under right parieto-temporal

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1. Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society, XV, 1973, pp. 1-4.

region. The healer, using a red-hot metal knife, made a curvilinear incision on the slightly bulging right temporal region. He then made two holes at the two ends with a red-hot trepan. Further attempts were made below but mostly it failed.

2. The second skull (Skull No. KLB 8, gr.31) was of a middle-aged man. Near the posterior end of the temporal line of the left parietal bone (Fig.4), two holes were made using the same type of trepan as in the first case. Around those trepanation sites, the surface of the bone shows the same type of increased vascularity as in the first case.

3. The third case of trepanation of skull was performed on one of the Neolithic pit-dwellers of Burzahom which is a northern neolithic site of Kashmir, situated at about 8 km. N-E from Srinagar. Radiocarbon analysis attributes its sequence extending from 4325 ± 120 to 2580 ± 100. Earliest occupation (Period I) has been ascribed to a period prior to c 2715 B.C. The skull under discussion may be ascribed to Period II.

There were eleven attempts at trepanation. At the postero-inferior side of the left parietal bone (Fig. 5), 5 attempts were made at close quarters. But mostly the attemps failed to pierce the skull. However, on other sites, holes extend through the entire thickness of the skull. The diameter of the trepanation sites varies from 5 mm. to 1 cm. Trepanation was made possibly by striking with a heavy hard solid tool having conical tip (approximately 5 mm. in diameter) using another percussion hammer.

Skiagraphy of this skull indicated that at least around one complete hole, a definite ring of a sclerosis of bone could be detected. This indicates its ante-mortem nature. It appears that the trepanation attempts were made at different sittings.

An examination of the skull shows that the left parietal eminence is more prominent than the right. The left mastoid processs is definitely larger. One may infer that the subject had a left hemihypertrophy of the face or atrophy on the right side.

From the available materials we may now logically construct a hypothesis about the sequences of trepanation in ancient India. At the neolithic site like Burzahom, flint instruments of special shape were used for trepanation. The Neolithic method of trepanation was completely different from that of the Indus Valley sites.

In the Harappan sites, however similar operations were performed with metal gouge as at Harappa[1] or with hot metallic circular trepan as in Kalibangan. In two skulls from Harappa obtaineed from Cemetery

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R37, the holes were much larger than the one from Kalibangan but similar to Burzahom. This was produced by a metal gouge with alabaster handle. These skulls show indications of disease. However, the skulls obtained from Area G of Harappa show evidence of charred holes in the skull which might have been produced during a massacre by thursting red hot metal rods through the scalp.

The Kalibangan examples are unique in the sense that there is evidence of use of : (i) red hot metal scalpel and (ii) red hot trepan of the nature of a circular saw. By this method the injury to the skull would be minimum. The guard of the trepan also prevented excessive injury. The instrument used possibly had some resemblance to a modern one used in cranial surgery ; similar trepan was found in ancient Greece, but at a later age.[2]

There is a lacuna in our knowledge about this practice of trepanation of skull during the Post-Harappan and the beginning of the Ayurvedic periods. Very little information is available about trepanation of skull before the time of Jīvaka (c.500 B.C.).[3] But this surgical procedure might have been practised on the skull even before Jīvaka as we find a mention in the Suśruta-Saṁhitā[4] of Tirjak (lateral) incision which should be made on the temple. There is evidence that Jīvaka practised cranial surgery. From Rājagṛiha he went to Taxila to learn cranial surgery from his teacher, Bhikṣu Ātreya and after returning, successfully operated on the crown of king Bimbisāra.[5] It seems that they mainly practised this technique possibly to extract maggots from the gangrenous swellings of the skull. In the Bhoja-prabandha it is mentioned that king Bhoja was successfully operated on the head for pain by two visiting surgeons. Would it be illogical to conclude that this specialised knowledge of trepanation of skull in Neolithic and Chalcolithic times was handed over later on to the Ayurvedic practitioners of ancient India ?*

1. Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society, XV, 1973, pp. 1-4.
2. 'The Surgical Instruments of the Hindus' (Griffith prize essay for 1909). G. N. Mukherjee, Vol II., pp. 119-120. Calcutta University.
3. Ibid Vol.I., pp.231-232.
4. The Suśruta-Saṁhitā, Calcutta Edition, 1907 ; 2nd Ed. Varanasi, 1963, Vol. I., p.39.
5. 'The History of Indian Medicine' (Griffith prize essay for 1911)., G. N. Mukherjee., Vol. III., pp. 686-687, 691-692, 698   Calcutta University.
* The Anthropological Survey of India provided the skulls for illustration.

A RARE DOUBLE SIDED FIGURE OF GARUḌA

SOMNATH MUKHOPADHYAY

The present note is to bring to the notice of the learned society a unique sculpture representing Garuḍa carved on both the sides of a stela. It is now in the possession of Sri Dilip Bandyopadhyay of the village Dashgharā, in the Hooghly district, the owner having received it as a gift from the priest of the local Roy family.

Garuḍa, the vehicle of Viṣṇu, is usually represented as a powerfully built human being with two wings and having some bird like features, such as an aquiline nose and round eyes. The story of Garuḍa is given in detail in the first book of the Mahābhārata.[1]

In sculpture, Garuḍa is conventionally represented as kneeling on the right knee and with the hands shown folded in adulation. Erection of pillars in honour of Viṣṇu and placing on their top figures of Garuḍa, is a very old custom among the Vaiṣṇavas in India. We may mention for example, the famous pillar of Heliodoros at Besnagar, the Meherauli iron pillar, etc. In both these cases however though figures of Garuḍa had been installed upon them, the figures are now missing. The Mahānirvāṇa Tantra, XIII, 32 may quoted in this respect which runs as follows :—

> DEVYĀGĀRE mahāsiṁhaṁ vṛiṣabhaṁ Śaṅkarālaye
> Garuḍaṁ Kaiśave gehe pradadyāt sādhikottamaḥ

> (The superior devotee should present (image of) the great lion, to the temple of Devī (Śakti), bull to the temple of Śaṅkara (Śiva) and Garuḍa to the temple of Keśava (Viṣṇu).

The present figure of Garuḍa carved in black basalt measures about 76. 2 c.m. in height and 30.5 c.m. wide at the broadest part. The figure is placed upon a semi-circular base decorated with full-bloomed lotus petals. The divine bird is conventionally represented as kneeling on the right-knee, the hands are unfortunately broken. They were shown in a folded state. The locks of the figure are spread in the form of a halo behind his head, forming a sort of background for it. The face has a

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1. N. K. Bhattasali—Iconography of Buddihist and Brahmanical sculptures in Dacca Museum, Dacca, 1929, page 108.

cheerful expression apparently facing the God inside the temple and looking at him in adoration.

The uniqueness of the creation rests on the stela being double sided bearing two representations of the *vāhana* shown as exactly similar in treatment. On both the side the execution of the face and the body appears the same and the treatment of the hair, ornaments and way of kneeling also represents identical features. The figures are seen as kneeling on the folded right knee while the left foot rests on the pedestal. Two hands were originally shown as folded in the attitude of submission. All these factors would indicate that the figure was placed in front of a Vaisnavaite establishment, very probably a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu where the figure was installed upon a column. Rendering of the face effused with a smile, broad and well-modelled shoulder and the chest, narrow waist and powerful legs reveal masterly execution and full command upon modelling and treatment. Datable in about 10th century A.D. the object can very well be taken as an example of forceful and significant artistic creation, attributable to the school of sculpture which flourished during the Pala age.

Discovery of the figure very well indicates the existence of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu of about that age. The figure was very probably installed in front of the temple, now lost, as an evidence of artistic achievement of high quality.

PAÑCARĀTRA LITERATURE IN PERSPECTIVE

H. DANIEL SMITH

My purpose here is to introduce some of the salient features of the literature of the Pañcarātra school of Vaiṣṇavism to those who may know little more than the fact that it exists. Where is it to be located historically ? By turning to it, what kinds of data may be gleaned from it by specialists pertinent to their own scholarly interests ? How is one unfamiliar with the genre most practically to approach it ? What are some of the problems most apparent to those engaged in Pañcarātra studies and concerning which it may be useful even for a novice to be familiar ? Using these questions as guidelines let us proceed.

It seems to me, at this point, useful to think of the past as presenting a picture of a long evolution extending through succeeding periods. Or, to make the point more vivid, we may shift to a marine metaphor familiar to all of us—in terms of *literary evidence* we may conceive of the past as comprised of several "waves" of creativity. The enormous energy represented in part by the Pañcarātra persuasion is the fourth such surge in a series of crests continuing into our own times. The first wave of litarary evidence is the great, ancient Vedic enterprise—and this has carried to us in its still unspent force a heritage vast and varied, ranging from the primitive yet profound Ṛk-verses of the saṃhitās, through the brāhmaṇas, upaniṣads, and various smṛti-texts and traditions. The second surge resulted in the epics, with all their stories, implicit values, reflected personalities, and māhātmyams of places even now revered in the popular imagination as pilgrimage spots. The third swell brings to surface the purāṇas, those encyclopaedic works both early and late which contain so much of what is so characteristic of medieval and modern Hinduism. And the fourth, but by no means final, crest is that which sweeps from its trough and brings to view that superabundance of sectarian literature referred to variously as the saṃhitās, āgamas, or tantras. Vast as the metaphoric ocean from which it springs, the literature is comprised of texts still normative to the Śaiva, Śākta and Vaiṣṇava cults which produced them. And it is in this thrust of energy we must "locate" the Pañcarātra Āgama, or corpus of Pañcarātra texts. The so-called "bhakti" movements, which coupled fervent devotionalism with scrupulous ritualism, each produced sets of texts—the Śaivas produced

their Āgamas, the Śāktas produced their Tantras, and the Vaiṣṇavas produced, on the one hand, the Vaikhānasa texts, and, on the other hand, the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās.

In order to understand anything about the nature of developing Hinduism in the last 1000 years, one must turn to these sectarian texts— the āgamas, tantras, and saṃhitās of the bhakti cults which flourished in the names of Śiva, the Great Goddess, and Viṣṇu. The texts, mainly in Sanskrit, constitute the most important documents of the medieval period. Through them we see reflected the religious and cultural values of Hinduism during\the extended time-frame

For the historian of Hindu literature these texts—although dismissed by some purists as written in "barbarous" Sanskrit—are important literary documents if only because of the vast productivity they represent. They cannot be ignored. The considerable energies employed in compos- ing them and passing on in them technical data is in itself a feat deserving attention. But more than that, these texts also reflect new efforts at expression, and contain visions of reality not articulated before so volubly. To be sure, old terms take on new, "intentional"—even arcane-meanings, and cause difficulties to the classically trained Sanskritist. But what the new vocabulary and simplistic syntax represent (never mind that some classically-trained Sanskrit connoisseurs call them "late, degenerate developments") is a new and very cogent focus and develop- ment, in literary terms, of the Hindu mind. The texts are important, then, not only for literary history ; they are important also as landmarks in Indian intellectual thought.

For social historians they relay important, confirming data concern- ing the emergence of specific sects and cults ; they give proof of the creation of new ideologies reflected elsewhere in shifting social structures and altered hierarchies. One can discern in the texts traces of new elites asserting themselves, of communal accomodations subtly changing—all in accordance with, perhaps in response to, new religious insights and consequent revisionings of social realities and responsibilities.

For historians of religions—of whom I count myself one—these are "primary texts" which are absolutely basic for a comprehension of the emerging and diverging *sampradāyas* which are both consequence and cause of the continuing bhakti-movement as it unfolds throughout the medieval period. Moreover, the texts, with their minute rules and regula- tions, are rich mines for discovering how the major divisions of Hindu philosophy—so often studied in splendid isolation—worked themselves

out in practice.   Time and again one discerns startling combinations of ideas or theories unexpectedly brought together.   The works under consideration thus present for consideration a syncretistic spirit which strives to combine philosophical scholasticism with pragmatic realism ; ideals and specifics are joined hand in hand (sometimes making for strange partners !) as daily practices are invented, then enjoined upon the faithful within a theoretical context often quite surprising.   Yet, whether we "approve" of them or not, these rules and their rationales became normative for the adherents of the schools—and thus we are concerned with the ideologies of millions of devout Hindus spanning several centuries.

For the historians of art āgamic texts of the Śaivas and Śāktas, of the Vaikhānasa Vaiṣṇavas and the Pañcarātra Śrī-vaiṣṇavas offer rich— though non-professional—reflections on the "meaning" of temple-struc- tures and sacred shrines, and for the "interpretation" of the images worshipped therein.   Included in the śilpaic passages of these texts are many details not found elsewhere in regard to the iconographic conven- tion used in fashioning and in recognizing divine images.

For sociologists, anthropologists and scholars of women's studies, the texts are replete with clues to social interaction, the emergence of new elites, the drawing up and hardening of fresh lines of orthodoxy ("right belief") and orthopraxy ("right practice") which cut across old allegiances based on caste, marital and sexual status.

Indeed, for anyone researching Indian norms for a period of not less than the past 1000 years, the āgamic texts of "tāntric Hinduism" are indispensable documents deserving deep and dedicated study and scrutiny. A whole universe lies reflected there, imaging a real world of sectarian evolution which has quickened and vitalized Hinduism up to our present day.   And, lest we forget, these texts are still very much in use today as guides for correct beliefs and correct practices among major blocks of Śaivas, Śāktas, and Vaiṣṇavas.   Insofar as we come better to grasp the breadth and scope of this vast literature, our notions will expand concerning what "Tāntric Hinduism" is, pushing us well beyond the false impressions (because partial) which presently prevail, false impressions which extend, to the detriment of the full richness of Hinduism, beyond India to the West.   For, the "tāntric tradition" of Hinduism is not merely those so-called "Left-handed Practices" of the five forbidden items but importantly also embraces and celebrates and sustains the so-called "Right-Handed Practices", those developments

of Hinduism which represent a much less dramatic synthesis of sectarian idealism with bedrock brāhmaṇical ritualism, which, indeed, demonstrates the genius of accomodation within Hinduism by giving to what has preceded a new life while yet never really breaking away from the parent movement.

Enough of the place and importance of the āgamic or tāntric texts. Let us move now to the Pāñcarātrāgama corpus of texts more specifically. We have already noted that these Pāñcarātra texts are part of a larger surge of creativity which includes the sectarian āgama texts of the Śaivas, Śāktas, and other sampradāyas ; that they were written and preserved in Sanskrit ; that they contain ritual injunctions for worship of the Being or beings perceived to be supreme and divine by their followers, as well as rules and regulations for the good life as envisioned by the sectarian adherents of the tradition. But what other kinds of information will be helpful to one who turns to a study of the Pāñcarātra literature as a novice ?

Let's begin with the question, how many Pāñcarātra texts are there ? There are several lists of titles purporting to name all the texts in the canon. The favourite number referred to here is the figure come upon so often in the enumeration of things Hindu, "108." In fact, one of the most important and influential texts of the canon, called the *Pādma-saṃhitā*, does in fact name exactly 108 titles in its list ("*jñ*" I : 99-114). So also does the *Viśvāmitra-saṃhitā* (II : 16b-32). But other works, purporting to name the "108", are not so accurate—the *Viṣṇu Tantra* actually presents 154 titles, while the *Kapiñjala-saṃhitā* and the *Puruṣottama-saṃhitā* can muster only 100 titles each. The *Bhāradvaja-saṃhitā* names 103, the *Mārkaṇḍeya-saṃhitā* mentions 91, and the *Parameśvara-saṃhitā* and the *Hayaśīrṣa-saṃhitā* come up with only 18 and 25 (+8) respectively. If one collates all the titles named in these various texts, the number mentioned soars beyond "108" to somewhere in the neighborhood of 230 works. But, in any opinion, we need not be worried about faulty arithmetics—what all the lists wherever found seem to be pointing to is a tradition which acknowledges that the Pāñcarātra corpus contains a *number*, in fact, a *large* number, of works.

The next question is, do all those texts—"108" or 230, as the case may be—really exist today ? (We leave aside the question whether either number ever did exist in some by-gone day.) The fact is, today only a small portion of the texts known by name from the various lists are extant. Perhaps only 40 texts survive today *in toto* or in extensive or

significant portions.   In addition to those 40, there may be another two score, more or less, which are known from fragments quoted in other, later compilations—a chapter here, a short passage or quotation there. At the most extreme count there are only 100, 101, 102, 103 or 104 texts and fragments which are currently available.   The remaining titles have still to be traced, if indeed they ever really existed in the first place as more than mere names.   But what we have is still a significant enough corpus of literature to justify the ancient adage that the Pañcarātra texts are an "ocean" of writings ! And, it must be pointed out, the texts known to us are both substantial and of relatively diverse contents.

At present there are some 33 or 34 Pañcarātrāgama texts in print. Of those, 29 are printed in Devanāgarī characters ; the remaining half dozen or so texts are available only in Telugu script. (Some texts, earlier available only in Grantha characters, have since been re-issued in Devanāgarī script editions.)

What distinguishes the works in print from one another ?   How can one just approaching them for the first time get some sense of their similarities and differences ?   At this point I must ask the reader to bear with me : there are many different ways to categorize the texts in order to differentiate them into similar groups.   I will not resort to all of the categories available—such as those which are called *sāttvika/tāmasa/ rājasa*, or those which are said to be "maunika-vākya" as over against those of direct, divine revelation—for those distinctions are not immediately useful to us.   What is helpful to know, I think, is that some of the texts are longer/shorter, some are earlier/later.

In regard to length, I have found it informative to label those texts which range in length between 1000-2000 verses as "shorter" ; those which run between 2500-4500 verses as "medium-length" ; and those which extend to 6000-9000 verses as "longer."   It should go without saying that the length of a piece is often a determining factor in terms of its content and style : some of the "shorter" ones focus on only one topic (as, for example, the *Bhāradvāja-saṃhitā* is on "prapatti"), while other "shorter" ones which are encyclopedic in scope are void of details (as, for example, the *Aniruddha-saṃhitā*).   The longer the work gets, the more breadth and scope one normally finds.   Generally speaking, one finds in these texts a discursive style, full of digressions.   In fact, the presentations are often prolix, even disordered—a fact which certainly gives ammunition to those literary purists who would prefer to dismiss the texts altogether as "barbarous" and without style or grace !

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Another way to group the texts is according to when they seem to have been written. Now, this is an approach replete with ploblems. For, just as in dating a temple, one has to contend with the fact that there are later additions, renovations and repairs made to the original structure, making a specific "date" ambiguous ; so with āgama texts one has to recognize that each one has passed through the hands of many copyists, there may be many later interpolations, and the leaves may have suffered many an accident to bring disorder into the narrative flow. But, roughly speaking : there are some texts which seem clearly to be "earlier" than others. The *Hayaśīrṣa-saṃhitā* may or may not be one of these ; but more certainly among this group must be the *Pauṣkara-saṃhitā*, the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā* and the *Viṣvaksena-saṃhitā*. The fact is, I do not favor early dating of *any* Pāñcarātra text unless the evidence is overwhelming that the work incontestably comes from the 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, or 9th century. In this regard I must observe, in passing, that in this matter Indian sholars and Western schoolars may never see eye-to-eye : generally Indian scholars tend to gravitate toward earlier dates for texts than do Western scholars. Be that as it may, some texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama do seem to be "earlier" because they are quoted by certain early authorities (*e.g.*, Utpala), or because they contain obviously primitive articulations of the tradition.

But more texts seem to be assignable to a period just prior to, or just after, the time of the famous South India champion of the Pāñcarātra cause, Rāmānuja. It was at his instance, recall, that Pāñcarātra ways of worship came to be adopted in many temples throughout South India. It is important to note that Rāmānuja himself quotes from only a few Pāñcarātra texts—indicating, as I suspect, that many of the ones best known to us today came from well after his time.

As for the "later" texts, those reflect developments of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries when, for examples, the Rādhā-cult and the Rāma-cult had come into their mature forms.

Still another way to group the texts is one found in the tradition itself which refers to the "Three Gems" which shine out more brightly than others and whose value is treasured beyond count in the canon. These "Three Gems" of the canon are, significantly, all pre-Rāmānuja, pre-Yāmuna, and pre-Utpala. Let us look at these more closely, and then see where that leads us. The "Three Gems" are : the *Sātvata-saṃhitā* (which extends to some 3500 verses, hence may be called a work of "medium-length"), which has for centuries been traditionally associated with the temple-town of Melkoṭe (in Karnataka) ; the *Jayākhya-saṃhitā* (which,

with its 4500 verses, falls somewhere in the medium to longish range), which for long has been identified with the temple town of Kanchipuram by tradition ; and the *Pauṣkara-saṃhitā* (which is a "longer" work, extending to some 6000 verses), which tradition has identified with the faith at Śrīraṅgam.

Each of these "Three Gems" is typically discursive in nature, even prolix in style. Perhaps the oldest among these, the *Pauṣkara* was even longer once—a deduction I make upon internal evidence of the text, which is a-symetrical in its present state, obviously missing some "promised parts." It is concerned with *dīkṣā*-proceedures primarily, and with the instruction of the initiate into various, important mantras. The *Sātvata*, too, is concerned with *dīkṣā* and *mantras*, but has additional discussion of *vratas* festivals, and temple and icon-construction. The *Jayākhya* offers the greatest diversity of topics of the three, containing portions which accord with the "later," scholastic division of the texts into four "pādas" pertaining respectively to *jñāna/yoga/kriyā/caryā* concerns. Still, time and again that text returns to mantras ; their construction from *bīja-maṇḍalas*, to *japa, dhyna, mudrā, nyāsa, etc.* [For further analysis, the reader is referred to my almost-identical articles on the "Three Gems," one found in *Studies in the History of Religions (Supplement to Numen)*, XXII : *Ex orbe Religionum : Studia Geo Widengren Oblata*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972, pp 40-49, the other found in *Vimarśa* (A Half-Yearly Research Bulletin of Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan, New Delhi), Vol. I, Pt. 1, 1972, Tirupati, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, 1972, pp. 45-51].

Consideration of the "Three Gems" leads us on to notice three other texts which tradition associates with them. Attached to the *Sātvata-saṃhitā* by tradition is another text known as *Īśvara-saṃhitā*, a work of no little importance in the South. The main trouble I must point out here is that the current text published as "*Īśvara-saṃhitā*," though respected and filled with important data, does not seem to be the same "*Īśvara-saṃhitā*" quoted in the 10th century by Vedānta Deśika. Nonetheless the text we have makes interesting reading, and contains much rich material for study. Attached to the *Jayākhya-saṃhitā* by tradition is an extremely influential text, the *Pādma-saṃhitā* (also known as the *Pādma Tantra*). It is one of the "longer" works, and comes to us divided into 4 classical *pādas*, the "*jñāna*" with 12 chapters, the "*yoga*" with 5 chapters, the "*kriyā*" with 32 chapters, and the "*caryā*" with 33 chapters (discussed below). Although, like the *Jayākhya*, it too is associated with worship at Kanchipuram, it is today the single-most widely-disseminated

text of the canon—it influences the worship routines at countless temples throughout the South and elsewhere. The earliest known authority to quote it was the 13th century polymath, Vedānta Deśika. The *Pādma-saṃhitā*, despite its importance in the canon, has yet to appear in a competent, critical edition of the text in Devanāgari script. As for the *Pauṣkara-saṃhitā*, there is by tradition attached to it a related text, the longish (almost 9000 ślokas) *Parameśvara-saṃhitā*. That text is clearly and accurately a reflection of the worship traditions at Śrīraṅgam. Its mention of liturgies due icons of the Ālvārs clearly places it chronologically in the post-Rāmānuja period. So far, then, we have six titles of importance to note, and insofar as current day practices are concerned, chief among these is the *Pādma-saṃhitā*.

There are ten other texts which deserve mention. These are significant works to investigate for retrieval of historical, sociological, liturgical and or artistic data. Attention may first be drawn to the *Parama-saṃhitā* (Baroda : Gaekwad's Oriental Series Vol. 86, 1940). Apart from its intrinsic interest as one of the earlier texts, it is available in a competent English translation, thus presents to the student unable to cope with the Sanskrit originals an authentic sampling of the Pāñcarātra genre. (The two other texts of the Pāñcarātrāgrama have been translated into English—the so-called *Nārada Pāñcarātram*, and the *Lakṣmī Tantra*—but neither of these can be recommended as typical examples of the genre.) Five other titles all come from the press at the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha at Tirupati ; each one of these is an important and useful text —the *Śrī-Praśna-saṃhitā* (no. 12, 1969), the *Viśvāmitra-saṃhitā* (no. 13, 1970), the *Nāradīya-saṃhitā* (no. 15, 1971), the *Viṣvaksena-saṃhitā* (no. 17, 1972), and the *Mārkaṇḍeya-saṃhitā* (in press, 1980). Three titles have been published by the Adyar Library and Research Centre ; the first two titles mentioned represent highly speculative examples of the genre, the third one may be an ancient formulation of the school—the *Ahirbudhnya-saṃhitā* (no. 4, 1916 ; reissued 1966), the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (no. 87, 1959), and the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā* (no. 95, 1969). Another work, forthcoming from the press of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, is the *Hayaśīrṣa-saṃhitā*, a text extraordinily rich in matters pertaining to iconography and a production which some Indian scholars are willing to assign to an unusually early date.

It seems to me that it would be quite dangerous for anyone to try to characterize the Pāñcarātra school even on the basis of the aforementioned 16 texts. Recall the figure "108," and even the list of over 230 titles. While the texts just mentioned are important representatives of

the school, we still gain only a limited perspective of what the school teaches from these texts.   To get the fuller picture requires recourse to the remaining 15 or so texts in print*, *plus* resort to the many texts and text-fragments which are available in manuscripts.   The only text which does reflect adequately the wide-ranging interests of the canon as a whole is the already recommended *Pādma-saṃhitā.*   A rapid review of its contents gives an idea of the breadth of focus found in the Pañcarātra literature as a whole.

While not all the texts by any means are conceived of so broadly, or go into such detail, the *Pādma-saṃhitā* presents the model text.   It says of itself that originally it contained some 500,000 verses ; a revision cut that to 100,000 verses ; and the present version of 10,000 verses is a condensation of that.   As is the Pañcarātrāgama corpus as a whole, so the *Pādma* text is divided into four main categories, sections, or *'pādas'*— jñāna, yoga, kriyā and caryā.   The opening chapters of the first section turn to creation, and describe how the heavens and lower regions came into being.   God's nature is next reflected upon, followed by a treatment of man's condition in this world.   The "jñāna-pāda" then turns to the nature of revelation [śāstrāvatāraṇa], and closes with a eulogy of the goal of the released individual.   The second section on yoga treats mainly of yogic postures and practices, and is reminiscent of Patañjali-derived presentations found elsewhere in related literature.   The third large section contains chapters on town-planning, on selecting sites for temple construction, on how to choose capable artisans, correct implements and necessary raw materials for the proposed building project.   Then follows a list of types of temples.   Considerable attention is given to the building process, but mainly from the perspective of the presiding priests, not from the point of view of craftsmen ; attention is given to the accompanying rituals at such junctures as laying the "first bricks" through to the final placement of the roof-finial. Several chapters on iconography succeed this, with directions for where the deities are to be placed in and around the precincts of the finished temple. Following elaborate sanctification and "establishment" rites (described in detail), attention is given in the fourth section to some of the special festivals which may be celebrated in the finished structure to honor the consecrated icons.   Considerable emphasis

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* For readers unable to turn to the texts in their Sanskrit originals, attention is here directed to my two-volume *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pañcarātrāgama* (Baroda : GOS vols. 153 and 168, 1975 and 1980) for lengthy *précis* of printed texts plus index to topics.

is placed upon expiations for mishaps in worship routines, including even directions for resanctifying polluted temple premises, broken icons and instruments. The work also includes special instructions in mantras required for general and special occasions, with no little detail devoted to the proper mudrās to be used with the mantras. The work ends with warnings against mixing the rules found in one textual tradition with those found in another, as well as eulogies for any and all who follow the injunctions laid down in the *Pādma* text.

While the *Pādma-saṃhitā* does present a model text for the Pāñca-rātra corpus, and while its breadth of scope does reflect that of the canon as a whole, still very few texts can be compared with it. In fact, what emerges from an analytical survey of the available texts is that most texts fall far short of breadth exhibited in the *Pādma*. And, with a few notable exceptions, most texts give short shrift to the philosophical and theoretical aspects of the system. In fact, what impresses one over and over again skimming various texts is the overweaning concern in most of them to treat only of temple liturgies, specifically *pūjā, utsava, prāyaścitta etc.* And, just as the subject matter of the majority of texts is, in fact, limited, so also is the antiquity of the majority of the texts limited—as is the antiquity of the model text, the *Pādma-saṃhitā* limited to the same late period—to the period just before and just after Rāmānuja. Indeed, since most of his activities promoted the growth and creative capacities of the Śrī-vaiṣṇava (and specifically of the Pāñcarātra wing of it), it is not surprising that most of the text are assignable to a period posterior to him, and range from the 12th to the 14th centuries.

The controversies over the *status* of Pāñcarātrāgama texts vis-à-vis the "Vedas" is far too complex a subject for me to take up here. Suffice to say the Śrī-vaiṣṇavas look upon their āgama corpus of "108" works as a "Fifth Veda," superceding the other four vedas. Needless to say that position has evoked sharp criticism and rebuttal from Vaidika scholars. In turn, there evolved an apologetic literature within the Pāñcarātra community arguing the adequacy and propriety of the texts as "revealed" authorities—e.g., Yāmuna's *Āgamaprāmāṇya*, Vedānta Deśika's *Pāñcarātra-rakṣa*, as well as many passages within the saṃhitā-texts themselves designed to refute detractors of the system.

The name "Pāñcarātra" poses a problem : the fact is we do not know exactly what it means ! To be sure "pañca-" means "5" ; "-rātra" is generally construed to mean "night" or "day-and-night." But their combination as the name for the cult and its teachings does not make

much sense. The late Professor Johannes van Buitenen sought to connect the cult with an ancient, wandering ascetic movement, members of which observed vows for five-night periods, drawing his conclusion from etymologies suggested in the Mahābhārata and certain Brāhmaṇas. The late Professor V. Raghavan also took pains to parse the word according to various possibilities permitted in the language and from what evidence he drew from the *Sanatkumāra-saṃhitā*. I have myself written on the subject, drawing upon all the evidence available from the printed texts and unpublished manuscripts of the Pāñcarātrāgama works themselves, only to reach the conclusion that the lack of unanimity in those texts is significant, and demonstrates that the cult itself has little sense for the meaning of the name either. [See my article "A Typological Survey of Definitions : The Name 'Pāñcarātra'," *Journal of Oriental Research, Madras*, XXXIV-XXXV (1973), 102-117.] We simply do not know what the term *"pañcarātra"* means in its cultic context.

I propose to bring my presentation to a close by setting forth before you what has been my effort over a twenty-five year period by way of contributing to the field of Pāñcarātra studies. I shall end up by suggesting what I feel is essential work yet to be done. As for my own efforts, I suppose the best way to characterize my work is to say that throughout my career I have tried to *reconstitute* the dispersed corpus of "108" texts. Thanks to a close working relationship with the Department of Sanskrit at the University of Madras through the kind offices of the late Professor V. Raghavan, I had been given free access to the impressive files of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* project. This provided me with leads to the location of texts and text-fragments in both major and remote manuscrips libraries. At such libraries as I have also visited throughout India, although most especially in the South, I also spent countless hours poring over their in-house catalogs. One or two "finds" I made were because I refused to take an anonymous cataloger's word as final : for, often Pāñcarātra texts have been misplaced in a collection under such headings as "a dharma text," or "on mantras." Throughout, I have been heavily indebted to Schrader's pioneer work, already cited.

In an on-going effort to rediscover "lost" manuscripts of the school, I also travelled extensively in the South visiting temple towns and *arcaka*-training centres. In 1967 and again, later, in 1980 I took two tours in search of manuscripts. In the first instance I covered large portions of Tamil Nadu ; in the second tour, I explored large tracts of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh. The result, over all, has been that I was able to locate a few texts hitherto known only by title. I have had copies made

of rare texts, one transcription of which was added to my own personal collection of texts housed in the United States. (I should point out that in the copying of manuscripts I have found microfilming of little assistance : first of all, it is rarely available in remote places ; secondly, even when available, the photographic process rarely permits a "good reading" of the incised characters used in an original palm-leaf manuscript ; and thirdly, a microfilm reproduction does nothing to assist someone unfamiliar with an ancient or unknown script to decipher it. As a result I have instead had local pandits transcribe any manuscripts into Devanāgarī characters by hand.) Such texts, then, as have been recovered I have sought to preserve.

In addition, I have sought to make other—particularly traditional scholars in the Pāñcarātra Śrī-vaiṣṇava community-conscious of the need to promote study of their textual traditions. Accordingly, in 1967 I founded a society of textual scholars, traditional pandits, arcakas, and others devoted to matter Pāñcarātrin. The society, called "The Pāñcarātra Pariśodhana Pariṣad," in 1980 held its tenth general body meeting, and is currently planning to bring out the fourth volume of texts and studies. At the same time, always building upon the pioneering efforts of F. O. Schrader, I have tried to alert Western scholars—and Western-trained Indian scholars—to the resources for the study of Indian culture contained in the Pāñcarātra canon of literature.   .

In terms of a vision, I have been dedicated throughout all my efforts to one ideal of scholarship, namely, that before we can confidently turn to higher matters of ideology, significance, and stature of the school we must first recover the textual bases upon which those were built. In other words, I have been concerned with the basic exercise of recovering texts —literally saving them from obscurity and obliteration. Once that has been done, I feel, there will be ample time for others, then, to produce studies based on documentary evidence pertaining to such matters as dating, ideology, special features of the cult, the place of the cult in Indian religious traditions, and the like. But, I am convinced, the reconstitution of the textual tradition is a prior matter—for which reason I have sought to attend to that.

Yet, even there, much remains yet to be done. Those anxious to move on to matters of ideology, of dating texts, of characterizing the cult, must be forewarned that even now not all the evidence is at hand. To my mind important matters such as those just mentioned must remain as very tentative efforts until more text-critical exercises have been

completed.   In closing, let me suggest that I feel there are three areas in text-critical studies which still need much attention.

,   First, there must be continued efforts to search out fugitive, extant titles of the primary samhitā-texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama.   And, here, time is a factor : every year wasted narrows down our opportunities to rescue such texts as may still survive. White ants are not the only enemies of palm-leaf manuscripts : I have found that the more mortal enemies of manuscripts are people—there is an inexorable logic in neglect, as texts are inadvertently ravaged by carelessness and apathy.   The location and preservation of precious, ancient manuscripts will not only bring to light texts known till now only by title, but will also assist in the necessary process of providing important, alternate readings for new, critical editions of standard texts (e.g., the *Pauṣkara-saṃhitā*), and perhaps locate "missing parts" to other works (e.g., so-called "Bṛhaspati-rātra" of the *Sanatkumara-saṃhitā*.)

Second, there is yet another stratum of "subsidary" texts attached to the Pāñcarātrāgama which no one has yet looked at with serious, scholarly intent.   It may be that these "secondary" texts will turn out to be even more important in understanding the life and thought, the worship and ethics of the Pāñcarātra community today than the primary, samhitā texts.   For these anthologies, digests, handbooks and commentaries [prayogas, saṃgrahas, nibandhas, bhāṣyas] are what are, in fact, used to implement Pāñcarātra ways of worship in temples throughout the South today.   I might say that, if I were starting out all over to approach Pāñcarātra literature as a field of study, here is where I would begin.   We need to know more—much more—about the level of activity reflected within the cult by these documents.   And, they too should be collected and preserved, cataloged and studied.

Finally, there must be more effort made to compare research results (to say nothing of methodologies) among those working as scholars of Tāntric Hinduism in its other sectors.   To phrase this in personal terms, I need to know more about what is being learned by my colleagues who are studying the Śaiva and Śākta āgama texts and practices.   We labor in isolation and in ignorance of one another ! Moreover, even among those focusing only on one literature—say, the Śaivāgama—there needs to be more opportunity for communication, if only to avoid duplication of efforts (I recently learned that two young American scholars are both working on basic Śaivāgama texts, yet neither one knew of the other). In the past years I have tried, insofar as possible, to serve as a mediating

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clearing agent among Pāñcarātra scholars. I even issued a *Newsletter* at one point, but gave it up for lack of response and lack of time. But recently, nonetheless, I was able to inform one scholar that a critical edition of Pāñcarātra text he intended to undertake was already just completed (but not yet published) by another scholar from a different country. It may be that what is needed is the establishment by an on-going research institute of a journal the purpose of which would be to serve as an organ for publishing work in the area of tāntric studies of all branches of Hinduism, and to act simultaneously as an informative newsletter regarding work currently going on in those various, related fields.

"THE SEVEN HIGH PLACES"
IN THE INDUS VALLEY INSCRIPTIONS

JOHN E. MITCHINER

1. *Preliminary Remarks*[1]

In a recent communication analysing the possible origins of the forms Indian *sindhu-* and Iranian *hindu,* Professor Sir Harold Bailey has suggested that the archaic *Rgveda* phrase *sápta sindhavas* and the *Avesta* phrase *hapta hindu* may have originally meant "The Seven High Places" : and in this connection he has noted "a curious coincidence" with the Sumerian phrase *bàd imin* meaning "The Seven Enclosed Places," which was used in Sumerian documents to designate a land to the east of Sumer and beyond Aratta. He thence raises the question of whether the Indus people used a phrase "The Seven High Places" which was subsequently passed on to the invading Proto-Indians as *sápta sindhavas* and to the Proto-Iranians as *hapta hindu.*[1a] In the same line of thought, Mr. Kinnier Wilson has proposed interpreting certain signs in the Indus script as denoting the phrase *bàd imin.*[2]

In his study of a number of Indus signs, Mr. Kinnier Wilson concentrated primarily upon the possible numerical significance of such signs : his study was not an exhaustive one, and was not intended to take account of every occurrence of those particular signs or groups of signs which might possibly denote a phrase analagous to the Sumerian phrase *bàd imin.* That is to say, his study did not take account of every group of signs in which one member was compounded of seven lines $\frac{''''}{'''}$: those seven lines being interpreted by Kinnier Wilson himself, as also by Ross[3] and others, as denoting the numeral 'seven'. The primary aim of this paper is consequently to examine every occurrence of the sign $\frac{''''}{'''}$

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1. This paper constitutes chapter 2 of J. E. Mitchiner, *Studies in the Indus Valley Inscriptions* Oxford+IBH, Delhi, Calcutta, 1978).

1a. H. W. Bailey, 'Indian *Sindhu-,* Iranian *Hindu-*' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* vol. 38 no. 3, 1975, pp. 610-611.

2. J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *Indo-Sumerian*, pp. 3ff. (Oxford, 1974).

3. A. S. Ross, 'The Numeral Signs of the Mohenjo Daro Script,' *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* vol. 57 (New Delhi, 1933).

in the Indus inscriptions—as listed in the Parpola Concordance[4]—in order to establish those signs, or groups of signs with which it is associated, and which might constitute a phrase analagous to "The Seven High Places" : corresponding to Sumerian *bàd imin*, Avestan *hapta hindu*, Vedic *sápta sindhavas*, and similar forms. Further observations will then be made on the basis of this detailed examination.

2. *Examination of Inscriptions*

Following the detailed discussions and inferences of Hunter,[5] Ross,[6] Kinnier Wilson[7] and others, it will here be accepted as a working hypothesis that the sign "''''' may most probably be taken to denote the numerical value 'seven'. The sign occurs in the total corpus of Indus inscriptions —as listed in the Parpola Concordance—in 77 different contexts. It forms a recognisable pair-group with six distinct separate signs : while on only 3 of these 77 occasions does it appear in inscriptions where it is unassociated with any of these signs. All of these 77 inscriptions may be found set out in the accompanying Table (note : incriptions read from right to left[8]). The groups incorporating the sign "''''' 'seven' will here be examined in their overall occurrence throughout the entire corpus of inscriptions, in their regional distribution, in the typology of the material on which they occur (seal, copper tablet, etc.), and in the iconography of that object with which the inscription itself is positionally associated.

4. S. Koskenniemi, A. Parpola & S. Parpola, *Materials for the Study of the Indus Script* 1 (Helsinki 1973).
    The Concordance assembles and compares every inscription discovered up to 1973—a total of 3204 separate items—and additionally provides a coded description of the origin, shape, typology, and iconography of each. It thus supersedes all previous Concordances : and still remains in many respects more advantageous than the more recent Concordance of Iravatham Mahadevan (*The Indus Script : Texts, Concordance and Tables*, M. A. S. I. no. 77, New Delhi 1977). Much as one may disagree with many of the methods and conclusions of the Finnish team, their collation of the inscriptional material would seem to be the most satisfactory to date, and has therefore been followed in this paper.
5. G. R. Hunter, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro and its Connection with other Scripts*, Tables XXXI-XXXVII+analyses pp. 95-101 (London 1934).
6. Ross, *loc cit.*
7. Kinnier Wilson, *loc. cit.*
8. See B. B. Lal, 'The Direction of Writing in the Harappa Script', *Antiquity* vol. 40, no. 4, 1966 ; also Kinnier Wilson, *op. cit.* ch. 4.

a. *The Group* 𝕁‴

This group-formation is by far the most common of the six. It occurs in a total of 34 inscriptions, and may be most conveniently analysed under three sub-headings. Firstly, where it occurs as the final member of an inscription (followed only by the terminal sign ʊ) : secondly when it occurs medially in an inscription in relation to the terminal sign ʊ— that is to say, where it is followed by another sign or sign-group and then by terminal ʊ : and thirdly when it occurs unassociated with the terminal sign ʊ.

i. *Final occurrence* :

13 instances : 8 at Mohenjo Daro, 4 at Harappa, 1 at Kalibangan. All but one are on square seals with perforated bosses : the exception (Parpola no. 1442) being on a rectangular seal without boss.

All but two depict a unicorn+manger : one (1442) is badly broken, and the terminal sign ʊ is only presumed : one (3619) is on a potsherd.

Preceding signs demonstrate the distinct nature of the group 𝕁‴ : e.g , no signs precede (2214) : terminal ʊ precedes (1553) : "initial" signs ◇ etc., precede (2478, 1344) : separate group ||| (ꟾ) precedes (see Hunter, Table VII pp. 126, 139-140, 210) (1557, 2446, 3020,—3021).

ii. *Medial occurrence* :

6 instances : all at Mohenjo Daro.

3 are identical, on copper tablets, depicting a two-headed mythologi-cal animal—a device which occurs on a total of only 14 items in the entire corpus of Indus inscriptions (see Section 4 below for further discussion on this point) (389, 1598, 2811).

2 are on square seals with perforated bosses, on (1116) depicting unicorn+manger, the other (2032) depicting a broken unicorn (?+manger).

1 is on a rectangular broken seal (1393).

iii. *Further occurrences* :

15 instances : all at Mohenjo Daro.

All of these are identical in form, on copper tablets —the significance of which will be discussed below (see Section 4).

6 depict a ram with curling horns and short tail —a device which occurs on a total of only 16 items in the entire corpus of Indus inscriptions.

9 are devoid of iconography. They bear instead the symbol ⟨⟨⟩⟩. (450-457, 2804).

The inscription on one of these is broken and inferred (451).

b. *The Group ''''⁄''' 𝕬.*

The group occurs in a total of 15 inscriptions : of these, 7 are at Mohenjo Daro, 8 at Harappa.

7 are on square seals with boss, depicting unicorn+manger and its variants (5 Harappa, 2 Mohenjo Daro).

2 are on rectangular seals devoid of iconography (1446, 3631).

1 is on a broken reetangular seal (2063).

5 are on rectangular stamped tablets, depicting a gharial with a fish in its jaws (all from Harappa).

This group is always followed by terminal U or its variant U U.

Preceding signs demonstrate the distinct nature of the group ''''⁄''' 𝕬 : e.g., no signs precede (9 occurrences) : "initial" sign ◊ precedes (1446).

It may be observed that two variant forms of writing the numeral "seven" are evident in this group of inscriptions. On the one hand there is the usual form ''''⁄''' : while on the other there is the lengthened from ''''''''. (1123, 1466, 3631). The same phenomenon may be observed in the case of the group (''''⁄''), where one lengthened form of the numeral similarly occurs (2011).

c. *The Group 卄 ''''⁄'''.*

The group occurs in a total of 10 inscriptions : of these, 6 are at Mohenjo Daro, 4 at Harappa.

6 are on square seals with perforated boss, depicting unicorn+ manger and its variants (4 Mohenjo Daro, 2 Harappa).

2 are on rectangular seals devoid of iconography (1435, 2120) : one of these being 2-sided (1435).

2 are on miniature rectangular 2-sided tablets devoid of iconography (3457, 3866—both Harappa).

This group is always followed by terminal U.

Preceding signs demonstrate the distinct nature of the group �V ''''' :
e.g., "initial" sign '◊ etc., precedes (2013, 2691).

d. *The Group ('''''').*

The Group occurs in a total of 9 inscriptions : of these, 4 are at
Mohenjo Daro, 3 at Harappa, 2 at Lothal.

The 4 at Mohenjo Daro are on square seals with perforated boss,
depicting unicorn + manger.

The 2 at Lothal are on terracotta sealings with square seal-
impressions and signs of bale on the reverse. (6013, 6018). It may be
noted that the inscription on these is identical to that on one of the seals
from Mohenjo Daro (2262).

The 3 at Harappa are on 2-sided rectangular stamped tablets devoid
of iconography (3344, 3833)-one on a miniature such tablet (3446).

This group is always followed by terminal U or its variant U U.

Preceding signs demonstrate the distinct nature of the group ('''''') :
e.g., "initial" signs '◊ precede (2011, 2262, 6013, 6018).

e. *The Group* ᛈ ''''',

The group occurs in a total of 4 inscriptions :   of these, 2 are at
Mohenjo Daro, 2 at Harappa.

At each site, one inscription is on a square seal with perforated
boss, depicting a short-horned bull (2298, 3238) :   while the other is on a
rectangular seal devoid of iconography (2025, 4130).

In all 4 cases, the group is the final element in the inscription.

f. *The Group* ᛟ''''',

The Group occurs in a total of 2 inscriptions :   both are at Harappa
on 2-sided stamped tablets devoid of iconography.

In both cases the group is the initial element in the inscription, and
followed by terminal U.

g. *Isolated occurrences.*

There are three such cases. In one,' from Harappa (3276), the
numeral sign ''''' seven follows the sign ♭ (which in turn follows terminal
Ε)茶, and forms the final element in the inscription. In another, from

Mohenjo Daro (2793), the numeral is preceded by "initial" ◊, while the following sign is illegible. In the third case, from Kalibangan (7024), the inscription would appear to be purely numerical in value-preceded by ‴, and followed by "terminal" ⚘.

3. *Observation* :

For the purpose of the following discussion, the three isolated occurences of the sign ⁗ 'seven' noted in paragraph 2.g above will not be taken into account primarily because none of these three occurences constitutes a recognisable sign-group. It may further be observed that-with the exception of group ⴤ ⁗-all of the above groups compounded with the sign ⁗ 'seven' appear in most or all of their occurences immediately preceding the terminal sign ⋃ or its principal variant ⋃⋃[9]. In view of the fact that the group ⴤ ⁗ is in additicn not clearly preceded by any distinctly separate sign or group of signs (e.g. 'initial' ʼ◊[10], then for present purposes—while the possible significance of this group must be kept in mind—this group will not be further considered in the following discussion.

At the present stage, it would accordingly seem reasonable to assume that, if the Indus peoples did indeed have a phrase "The Seven High Places" which appears in the inscriptions, then this phrase is likely to be represented in one or more of the sign-groups 𖼇 ⁗, ⁗ 𐊠, ⊓ ⁗, (⁗), or 𐊡 ⁗.

Kinnier Wilson[11] has pointed out and discussed the resemblance between the Indus sign 𖼇 and the Sumerian sign 𒆍 and its variants : the latter denoting the meaning "city" or "enclosed place," and bearing the phonetic value *bàd*. It may similarly be pointed out that the Indus sign 𐊠 closely resembles the Sumerian sign 𐊗 and its variants : the latter denoting the meaning "mountain," and bearing the phonetic value *kur*[12]. Meriggi[13] and Hunter[14] also noted similarities between the Indus sign 𐊠 and such signs in other scripts : and suggested that it represents the word for a mountain, a town, or a king. A different form of the Indus sign 𐊠

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9. See discussion in Section 5 below on these signs.

10. See Hunter, *op. cit.* Table XXIV pp. 153-156+p. 209 : analysis, pp. 83-86.

11. Kinnier Wilson, *op. cit.* pp. 3-4.

12. R. Labat, *Manual d' Epigraphie Akkadienne*, no. 169 (Paris 1952).

13. P. Meriggi, 'Zur Indusschrift',. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* vol. 87, nf. 12, 1934, p. 214.

14. Hunter, *op. cit.* p. 206.

may be seen in another Indus sign ᴍᴧ, which again resembles the Sumerian sign ᴍ. It would consequently-both from parallels with the Sumerian and other signs and from the very shape of the sign—seem quite plausible to interpret the Indus sign ᴀ as representing an unknown word with the meaning of 'mountain' or 'high place'. On this basis, therefore, it may be deemed as likely that if the phrase "The Seven High Places" appears in the Indus inscriptions, then such a phrase may be seen to be represented by more than one of the groups of signs noted in Section 2 above :   and that the two groups most likely to represent such a phrase are the groups ᴧ ʺ/ʺ and ʺ/ʺ ᴀ.

At least one of the other three sign-groups here in question may be interpreted as denoting the same meaning :   namely the group ᴴ ʺ/ʺ. It may be observed that the sign ᴴ in fact differs from the sign ᴧ only to the extent that the sign ᴧ has been inverted thus ᴠꜰ, and the exterior lines have been placed within the interior of the sign thus ᴴ, hence giving rise to the form ᴴ. Similarly the sign ᴴ might plausibly be interpreted as a simplified form of the sign ᴧ, with the omission of the base lines ᴴ.

In this event, it may be observed that the phrase "The Seven High Places" can be represented in the Indus inscriptions in two separate forms. On the one hand it can be represented by a phrase 'seven high places' (e.g. ᴧ, ʺ/ʺ) :   while on the other hand it can be represented by a phrase 'high places seven' (e.g. ʺ/ʺ, ᴀ).   One may perhaps infer that two different words are being used in such contexts to express the same meaning of 'high place' :   and the difference is comparable by analogy to that between Sumerian *bdd imin* ('high places seven') and Indo-Iranian *hapta hindu/sdpta sindhavas* ('seven high places').   This analogy is purely exemplary.

4.   *The Copper Tablets and their Inscriptions.*

It has been noted already that several of the sign-groups examined in Section 2 appear on copper tablets.   The very fact that certain tablets were manufactured in the material copper-as opposed to steatite, terra-cotta or similar-would tend to indicate that such tablets bear a particular significance which is likely to differ somewhat-either in content, or in importance, or in both-from that of the steatite and similar seals.   This is further indicated by the fact that there are so far known only 233 copper tablets, as opposed to a total of approximately 2958 seals and tablets of other descriptions, of which over 2000 are steatite seals.   The iconography of the copper tablets similarly differs markedly from that on any other seals (see below).   Thus it might be inferred that the inscriptions which

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appear on the copper tablets are likely to contain information which reflect the enhanced significance of this collection of tablets.

Two groups of signs incorporating the numeral ⁗ 'seven' have already been noted as occurring on copper tablets. The first of these is in the inscription U▲⚡⁗ (see 2.a.ii), which appears on 3 tablets; the second of these is in the inscription ⸾ ‖ ⚮⚡⁗Ø (see 2.a.iii), which appears on 15 tablets. The iconography and its specificity on all of these tablets has been discussed in the above contexts (see 2.a.ii+iii) Another group of signs which appears on the copper tablets, and which incorporates one of the signs (namely ⚼) previously discussed, is the group ⊞⚼. This group appears on 31 copper tablets: all of them at Moeenjo Daro. On 27 of these tablets, the total form of the inscription reads UU⊞⚼ : while the animal depicted is a bull with curling horns, a dewlap, a raised tail, and a manger—this being a device which appears on a total of only 30 items in the entire corpus of over 3000 Indus inscriptions. On a further 2 of these tablets, the form of the inscription reads ⊞⚼U (1597, 339): while the animal depicted is a rhinoceros-a device which appears on a total of only 29 items in the entire corpus. On the remaining 2 of these 31 tablets, the form of the inscription also reads U⊞⚼ (340, 341): while the tablets are devoid of iconography. It may further be noted that the group ⊞⚼ appears on only 9 items other than copper tablets: and that, out of a total of 40 occurrences overall within the entire corpus of inscriptions, the group occurs only 3 times at Harappa.

It was noted above, in paragraph 2.a.ii, that the motif of a 2-headed mythological animal appears on a total of only 14 items in the entire corpus of Indus inscriptions: and that 3 of these items bear the inscription U▲⚡⁗. It may further be noted that the remaining 11 occurrences of this motif are all also on copper tablets: and that the inscription on all of these tablets reads ⊞⊞⚼ together with various preceding elements (usually 齒 ‖ ⑂). These once again all appear only at Mohenjo Daro. In respect of the further occurrences of the group ⊞⊞⚼ in the total corpus of Indus inscriptions, 2 are on copper tablets with a dog-motif—a motif which occurs only 9 times in the total corpus of inscriptions; while a further 10 are on various other copper tablets (i.e. a total of 23 occurrences of this group on copper tablets), all again at Mohenjo Daro. The group ⊞⊞⚼ appears on only 12 items other than copper tablets: and it is noteworthy that it appears only once at Harappa, from an overall total of 35 occurrences. It may accordingly be inferred from these observations that the distinctness of the animal motifs which appear on the copper tablets

may be deemed to complement a distinctness in the inscriptional material inscribed thereon.

Referring again to the group ▦⚊-which has been seen to appear very predominantly on the copper tablets-the morphology of the sign ▦ may be compared with that of the Sumerian sign ⧈ and similar forms the latter denoting the meaning "shrine" or "throne," and bearing the phonetic value *bar*.[15] The sign ⊞ similarly occurs on Sumerian cylinder-seals as the object upon which a deity-usually Enki-is seated[16] : thus again suggesting a possible connotation along the lines of a regal or throne-symbol. Just as a process of "interiorisation" of the external lines has been deemed above (Section 3) to have taken place between the Indus signs ⟁ and 自, so too it may be suggested that a similar process has occurred between the Sumerian sign ⧈ and the Indus sign ▦. On this basis, therefore, the Indus sign—like its Sumerian parallel—may be interpreted as representing an unknown word meaning "throne," "king" or similar. It should be pointed out that this does not necessarily mean that the Indus word is to be read as phonetically identical with the Sumerian word : but it does imply that the meaning of the word or words represented by these signs remains constant between the Sumerian and Indus forms.

5. *The Terminal Sign* ∐

In this early analysis and discussion of this sign, Hunter demonstrated reasonably conclusively that the sign is a final or terminal sign, and that when another sign follows ∐ it signifies the start of a new word etc. ; also that it represents an open syllable, and that it is an affix or suffix rather- than a determinative.[17] The sign has been interpreted by most investigators as a case-ending of some description : thus for example Meriggi takes it to be the ending of the genitive case,[18] as does also Parpola.[19] The sign is the most frequently-recurring sign in the Indus script : Parpola lists some 60 pages of its occurrence, or approximately 1500 instances of its occurrence in individual inscriptions. It would indeed seem highly probable that that the sign represents a case-ending : and

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15. Labat, *op. cit.* no. 170.

16. For example H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939), plates 18.b, 18.e, 18.k, 20.b, 21.b, 21.c, 21.e, 22.c, 23.f, *etc.*

17. Hunter, *op. cit.* Table 1, pp. 131-137+p. 207 : analysis, pp. 51-62.

18. Merriggi, *op. cit.* pp. 212. 217.

19. For example A. Parpola *et al., The Decipherment of the Proto-Dravidian Inscriptions of the Indus Civilisation,* pp. 18ff. (Copenhagen 1968).

since the most frequently-occurring case-ending in both contemporary
Mesopotamian and later Indian seal inscriptions—as also in later Indian
coin legends—is that of the genetive singular case,[20] it may be
accepted as a working hypothesis that this sign probably represents the
suffixation of the genitive singular case-ending.

The terminal sign ∪ also appears in a further form ∪∩∪. On this
latter form, Hunter demonstrated that the sign ∩∪ is invariably followed
by the sign ∪, and never stands alone ; also that the group ∪∩∪ represents
a "spelling-out" of the sign∪.[21]   In all but 6 of its 155 occurrences in the
corpus of inscriptions in the Parpola Concordance, the sign ∩∪ appears
immediately preceding the terminal sign∪ : and the sequences demonstrate
that it is in some sense an optional form of the sign ∪ (for example ∪⊞☖x8,
∪∪⊞☖x27).   It may be noted that there is a geographical bias evident in
the distribution of the occurrences of this sign-group :   the sequence ∪ ∩∪
occurs 107 times at Mohenjo Daro, as compared with 36 times at Harappa
and 10 times at other sites.   This may be contrasted with the overall
distribution of 1784 items (55·7%) at Mohenjo Daro, and 1162 items
(36·3%) at Harappa.   It would accordingly seem most probable—and may
similarly be accepted as a working hypothesis—that the sequence ∪ ∩∪
represents a variant or optional form of the genitive singular case-suffix.

6. *Inscriptional Forms*

:   On the basis of the preceding sections, it is now possible to state
the form—and in some cases also the content—of many of the Indus
inscriptions.   In respect of those listed in the accompanying Table, and
examined in Section 2 above, it may be said that where the sign-group
denoting a phrase "the seven high places" is immediately followed by
terminal ∪ or ∪ ∩∪, this may be read as meaning :

"Of (/belonging to/coming from) the Seven High Places."

This, it will be observed, constitutes in many cases the total form of
these inscriptions.   Such inscriptions may thus be seen to denote the place
from which there originates that (person, merchandise or whatever) in
connection with which it was used.

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20. See for example K. K. Thapliyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 5-10
      (Lucknow 1972).
21.   Hunter, *op. cit.* Table VI pp. 138-139+p. 210 : analysis, pp. 51-62.

The inscription U[U̇]⊞A̱ has been seen to be particularly associated with the copper tablets, and also with the site of Mohenjo Daro. On the basis of preceding discussion, it may be read as meaning :

"(Of) the High Place of the King (/throne)"

In view both of the regional limitation of this inscription to Mohenjo Daro, and also of its predominant appearance on the distinctive collection of copper tablets (as discussed in Section 4 above), it may be suggested that this name "The High Place of King" represents the particular name —or one of the names—of Mohenjo Daro. An exemplary analogy may be drawn here with the later Sanskrit forms *Rāja-gṛha, Giri-vraja* and *Rāja-giri* : such names meaning respectively "The House of the King," "The Mountain-Cowpen" and "The Mountain of the King," and denoting different capital cities in various parts of India and at diverse periods of Indian history.

7. *Concluding Remarks*

During the course of this paper, it has been seen that certain sign-groups in the Indus inscriptions almost certainly designate proper names : and that these names denote geographical regions or towns of the Indus civilisation. Two such names in particular have been discerned : firstly "The Seven High Places," which is represented by many of the sign-groups examined in Section 2 above and secondly "The High Place of the King," which is represented by the sign-group ⊞A̱ and which has been suggested to denote the city of Mohenjo Daro (Sections 4 and 6 above).

It has been noted in Section 5 above that the terminal sign U (and its variant form U̇U̇) almost certainly represents a case-ending, most probably the ending of the genitive singular case. Consequently, any sign or sign-group which immediately precedes this terminal sign will represent a nominal form—that is to say, some kind of proper name. If a particular sign or sign-group consistently appears on a number of occasions immediately preceding this terminal sign, then it may be inferred that this sign or sign-group is unlikely to denote a purely personal name : and that it is more likely to denote some further type of information, such as an office or title, a commodity, or geographical name.

Consequently, since two such proper names have been deemed to designate geographical names, it may justifiably be concluded that at least some of the other signs and sign-groups which appear in the Indus

inscriptions immediately preceding the terminal sign Ư also designate the names of other geographical localities, regions or towns. The form of such inscriptions will accordingly denote the region or town from which there originates that to which the rest of the inscription may refer, or whatever person, merchandise or similar may be associated with the item to which the seal was attached or in connection with which it was used.

Inscription	Parpola
≶ ≶ ⚥ ∪‴ A	3061
∪‴ A Ω ≶ ≶ ≶	3189
E ∪‴ A ≶	3338
E ∪‴ A	3339
∪‴‴ A ⊞ A	3631
E ∪‴ A	3822
E ∪‴ A	3823
∪‴ A	4139
Group ⋔‴ :	
∪ ⋔ ‴ l ⁊ ⋏ ‖	1113
∪ ⋔ ‴ ⁊ Ω ⋏ ⅊	1211
⟡ ∪ ⋔ ‴ ∞ ⟡ ∪̆ ⋔	1435
⟡ ∪ ⋔ ‴ ″ ◊	2013
⟡ ∪ ⋔ ‴ ⚥ Θ° ∞	2120
∪ ⋔ ‴ ″ ⊕	2691
E ∪ ⋔ ‴ ⁊ ⊞ ∝° ◊	3119
∪ ⦀ E ∪ ⋔ ‴ ≶	3457
∪ ⋔ ‴ Ω ≶	3616
∪ ⦀ E ∪ ⋔ ‴ ≶	3866
Group (‴) :	
∪ ∪ (‴) ″ ◊	2011
∪ (‴) ″ ·◊	2262
∪ (‴) ∪̆ ⍾	2355

Inscriptiom	Parpola
∪ (‴) ⍾	2520
∪ ⦀ ⊬ ⊠ ⋔ ‡ ∪ (‴) Q	3344
∪ ‖ ⊬ ⊠ ⋔ ‡ ∪ (‴) ∪̆ Q	3446
∪ ⦀ ⊬ ⊠ ⋔ ‡ ∪ (‴) Q	3833
∪ (‴) ″ Θ	6013
∪ (‴) ″ Θ	6018
	↯
Group ⼁ ‴ :	
⼁ ‴ · ⊞ ≶ ≷	2025
⼁ ‴ ∪̆ ⁊ ⁊	2298
⼁ ‴ ″ Ω ⊀ ∪	3288
⼁ ‴ ⁊ ⊗	4130
Group ⊠ ‴ :	
∪ ‖ ⋮ ∪ ⊠ ‴	3309
∪ ⦀ E ∪ ⊠ ‴	3376
Isolated occurrences:	
⌒ ⌒ ≶ ‴ ″ ◇	2793
⍆ ‴ ″	7024 ~~9256~~ 3273 ~~7534~~
‴ ⊁ E ⚘ Θ A	

Inscription	Parpola
Group 𓏤 ⋮⋮⋮ final:	
[inscription]	1344
[inscription]	1442
[inscription]	1553
[inscription]	1557
[inscription]	2012
[inscription]	2214
[inscription]	2446
[inscription]	2478
[inscription]	3002
[inscription]	3020
[inscription]	302I
[inscription]	3619
[inscription]	7030
Group 𓏤 ⋮⋮⋮ medial:	
[inscription]	389
[inscription]	1146
[inscription]	1393
[inscription]	1593
[inscription]	2032
[inscription]	2811

Inscription	Parpola
Group 𓏤 ⋮⋮⋮ others:	
[inscription]	384
[inscription]	385
[inscription]	387
[inscription]	388
[inscription]	450
[inscription]	451
[inscription]	452
[inscription]	453
[inscription]	454
[inscription]	455
[inscription]	456
[inscription]	457
[inscription]	1009
[inscription]	2804
[inscription]	2814
Group ⋮⋮⋮ △ :	
[inscription]	1123
[inscription]	1466
[inscription]	2007
[inscription]	2063
[inscription]	2369
[inscription]	2457
[inscription]	2695

MEDIEVAL TRENDS IN INDIAN PAINTINGS

JAYANTA CHAKRABARTI

The word 'medieval' in terms of Indian painting is not very clear nor well defined ; it becomes complex particularly when it is considered as a qualitative and connotative term instead of a merely descriptive one. Had it been concerned only with its primary meaning—'middle', i.e., occupying a position in between the 'early' and 'modern'—much of the problems would not have cropped up in this discussion. But nowadays the terms like 'classical', 'medieval' etc. are used in their extended meaning—indicating certain characteristics, features and aspects, peculiar to that particular classified period. The characteristics and features of such periodisation are, of course, not fixed and cannot be applied as universally accepted norms. These may vary from place to place and from medium to medium.

The specific time limit of the period (i.e., 750 A.D. to 1300 A.D.) —in terms of studying medieval Indian painting—has put me to a very difficult situation, since medieval painting during this specified period was just in a formative stage and could indicate only certain signs of its future modes and characters of different regional centres.

There is no denying the fact that till the end of the 7th Century A.D. Indian painting and sculpture, in spite of certain local variations due to local tastes and visions, admit of a common denominator—which we call classical. With the decline of this classical tradition, the medieval or post-classical trends began to develop. This medievalism was not a sudden growth ; it took its shape and character through a gradual process and perhaps began to germinate from within the classical tradition itself. In its fuller expression one may observe that—linear draftsmanship, flatness of form, brightness of colour, regional character, elaboration of decorativeness, cult images with their iconographic details were emphasised. In other words, the classical quality of Indian art which was marked by the plasticity of the fully rounded and modelled form contained within a fluid linear outline, took a new direction towards summarising the volume, flat treatment of form and linear draftsmanship—occasionally with broken line and angular emphasis.

But it would be rather idle to think that all these aspects of medieval painting would be present in each centre where it had

flourished. Some scholars have enumerated this medieval tradition of Indian painting with an universally applicable connotative term and mention that 'The essential characteristics of this tradition are : (a) sharp, acute line without its modelling capacity, and also without the steady flow of the classical period,[1] etc. If only these qualities are accepted as the norms for Indian medieval painting, then the manuscript paintings of the entire Eastern region (from 10th to 14th century) and the mural paintings of Sittannavasal, Panamali, Tanjore and other places could not be brought into the medieval group of painting. Because these paintings still maintained certain rounded and modelled form using colourshade. So what has been called as the essential characteristics of this tradition, by some scholars, is practically a partial and regional character, applicable mainly to the paintings of Western India, where the sharp acute angular lines became the chief features ; and these characters took a definite pattern only from the end of the 14th Century.

For our study of Indian medieval painting and proper under-standing of the general trends and tendencies of the period it would be necessary to compare and distinguish the style and norms of painting of the period with that of the classical phase. But it is unfortunate that wall-paintings of Ajanta and Bagh are the only specimens of classical Indian painting that have survived, and these alone, therefore, become the standard specimens of classical norms. It is interesting to note that while the sculptural representations of the divinities and human figures in the Gupta classical phase reached its highest sublimation and assumed a supra-human character, being meditative, introspective and esoteric in nature, the art of painting showed a well-marked divergence and remained pagan in its appeal. Though the basic aim of the art of Ajanta or Bagh was to edify Buddhism, there was nothing spiritual in them. The characters are essentially human, and here man is the centre of interest and not the gods. The painters of Ajanta and Bagh unfold before us 'a grand human drama in which the participants are not gods, but princes, sages, heroes, men and women',[2] musicians and dancers, belonging to different stratum of life. But inspite of uninhibited display of womanly charm in these paintings, there is hardly any sign of lasciviousness since true beauty, which is realised through contemplative vision can never be sensual. In the medieval phase the concept of

1. The History and Culture of Indian people, ed R. C. Majumdar, Vol. V, Bombay, 1957, p. 677.

2. Studies in Early Indian painting, Moti Chandra, Bombay, 1974, p. 12

divine was intellectually processed and systematised into definite canons of iconographic rules and proportions that governed the artistic activities of the time. To an Indian the image was just a medium to concentrate upon the divine thought, and this act demanded that the medium, *Yantra* or the image, must be endowed with the exact proportions and all the iconographical *lakshanas*. The result was that what was once based on the artists' vision and realisation, turned into a mechanical stylisation in accordance with the iconographic standard'.[3] The iconographical forms were more pronounced in manuscript illustrations than the mural painting of the period. A few scholars like Moti Chandra and Khandalvala are of opinion that the art of manuscript illustration 'appears to be essentially a medieval development'[4] since there is no reference to it in our *śilpa* texts. This is nothing but a casual hypothesis and cannot be accepted. If one would scrutinise the list of mixed and metallic colours noted in the *śilpa* texts, he would find in the list a number of colours which cannot be used on the walls but can safely be used in manuscript illustrations.

It is indicated earlier that preference for linear treatment becomes a distinct feature of the medieval painting. It does not mean that importance of a line was ignored in the classical painting ; line is used in classical painting as accent to make the form sensitive. While line in medieval painting becomes descriptive and is used only to define the form. This descriptive or narrative type of line probably began to appear in a very subtle and imperceptible manner from classical phase itself. It is quite interesting to note that while enumerating the defects of a paint-ing the *Viṣṇudharmottara* mentions[5] :

> *daurvalyaṁ bindu-rekhātvam—avibhaktameva ca//*
> *bṛhad gaṇḍoṣṭho-netratvaṁ saṁvirudhatvameva ca/*
> *mānavākāratā ceti citradoṣāḥ prakīrtitāḥ//*

That is, weakness (of drawing), broken dotted lines, exaggerated cheeks, lips and eyes, contradictory forms (for depicting any idea) and realistic depiction of man are defects in a painting.

It is obvious that while enumerating the defects and virtues of a painting the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* has, no doubt, shown his

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3. A Survey of Indian Sculpture, S. K. Saraswati, (2nd ed.) Delhi. 1975, p. 183.
4. New Documents of Indian Painting, Karl Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, Bombay, 1969, p. 1.
5. Viṣṇudharmottara, Part III, ch. 41, verses 7b-8 ; also see Citrasūtra of the Viṣṇudharmottara, C. Sivaramamurty, 1978, pp. 152 and 183-84.

preference and respect for the established classical tradition surviving in the
paintings of Ajantā and Bāgh in which proper stance, proper proportion,
horizontal and vertical arrangements of composition, pleasing character,
formal distinction (with the use of shade and line), similitude and fore-
shortening are pronounced features,[6] and noted as the merits of painting.
In the description of the defects of painting, specially the exaggeration
of certain parts of the body, weakness of draftsmanship in the form of
broken dotted lines etc., one may see the emergence of a new linear
tradition which perhaps did not meet with the approval of the orthodox
classical school. A close scrutiny of a few paintings at Ajantā of late
6th century A.D., particularly of Cave nos. I and II, would show a very
subtle hint of descriptive linearism, and suggestion of extention of
further eye into space with the eye-lashes extending beyond the outline
of the facial contour. 'Similarly a slght exaggerativeness of the cheeks,
the lips and also the nose falls in line with the new art concepts con-
demned by the *Vlṣṇudharmottara*,'[7] a *śilpa* text of 6th century A.D.

In course of time this descriptive or form-defining linear aspect and
certain exaggeration and distortion of form received greater attention.
This is evident from the wall-paintings of Kailāśanātha temple and of
Indrasabhā cave at Ellorā. In the scenes representing Viṣṇu riding on
Garuḍa and Śiva riding the bull, the linear technique and the protrusion
of eyes into space may be marked. In the depiction of battle scene in
the western porch of Kailāsanātha temple these aspects are more pro-
nounced, and it may be 'said without any reservation that these paintings,
are the harbingers of new conventions in Indian art, which became
stereotyped in Western Indian miniatures.'[8] The wall-paintings in the
Bṛhadīśvara temple at Tanjore and paintings in the Narttamalāi Chole-
śvara temple—both datable to 11th Century A.D.—are also characterised
by their descriptive linearism, which is prominent in spite of the presence
of colour-modelling in them. There are traces of a few' medieval
paintings in Uttar Pradesh ; among them the wall-paintings of the
Pancarātra stories of the Viṣṇu temple at Madanpur, U. P. (painted
during the time of Madana Varmā—1130—1165 A.D.) are of special
interest since these paintings with their linear treatment, angularity of
drawing, pointed nose and the protrusion of further eye into space appear
to be closer in character to the Western Indian miniature paintings of

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6. Viṣṇudharmottara, Part III, ch. 41, verse 9.
7. Studies in Early Indian Painting, Bombay, 1975, p. 24.
8. Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Ahmedabad, 1949, p. 12.

12th to 14th Century A.D.   But all these wall-paintings are not so much static and iconographically patternised like the manuscript paintings of Western India.[9]

From an examination of the wall-paintings—roughly from 9th to 12th Century—from South Decean, U. P. and other regions, we are struck with certain characteristic features which are more or less common to all. 'The crude colour-modelling, linear quality of the drawing, protruberance of further eye into space, pointedness of the nose and chin, and the conventional treatment of the trees, animals and birds, are common features of all.   These are, of course, local variations in the details of costume and also human types'.[10]   We have seen with interest how the classical tradition was gradually taking a new direction towards descriptive or form-defining linearism although a kind of colour-modelling was also continuing in the wall-paintings of the period we are concerned, and these wall-paintings should be considered as one of the distinct trends forming a distinct class or group of medieval painting.

To this age of modification of techniques and methods in pictorial art, illustrated Buddhist palm-leaf manuscript paintings from Bengal, Bihar and Nepal remained less affected and preserved much of the classical norms of Ajantā tradition.   Continuity of subject and the expanding character of composition, timeless factors in narration and multiple-point perspective which is a kind of simultaneously gathered all-lateral views of objects etc.—essential characteristics of the Gupta classical composition are now discontinued and a single incident or episode, complete in each composition, makes its appearance perhaps due to the limited space available for such manuscript illustrations.   The composition of this Eastern or Pāla school of painting is usually simple and symmetrical ; a central Buddha or Bodhisattva or Buddhist deity is usually flanked by worshippers or attendant deities.   The figures drawn against a flat deep red or yellow ground, were given architectural frames and lotus thrones in an ornate manner.   'Stylised trees and slight indication of rivers or mountains,' as pointed out by Basil Grey, 'are the only other features of this monastic and hieratic art.[11]   In some illustrations, particularly those from Nepal, use of sharper and brittle lines are also found, and they indicate that this school of painting was not completely unaffected by the growing linearism of Western Indian painting.

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9.   JISOA, Vol. VIII, Calcutta, 1939, p. 175 and its fn. 3.

10.   Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Moti Chandra, 1949, p. 14.

11.   Encyclopaedia of World art, Vol. X, 1965, p. 176.

A few Buddhist manuscript paintings, a little earlier in date than the Pāla school of painting have been discovered from Kashmir. These manuscripts are written on birch bark, and rarely on palm-leaf. The wooden covers of such manuscripts are illustrated almost in the same fashion and techniques as those of the Pāla tradition. The manuscript paintings of both the regions—Eastern India and Kashmir—may stylistically form another group which has its legacy from the Gupta classical tradition.

Another important medieval school of manuscript painting flourished in Western India. The style and treatment of the paintings of this school is quite distinct and different from those of the Eastern India and Kashmir. Up to the 14th Century palm-leaf served as the base of these paintings, as such the size of the paintings, like those in Eastern India, could not be larger than 3′ inches square. The composition is very simple, a single deity or deity with donors is shown against a flat background of purplish or brick-red or blue colour. Yellow, green, white and black complete the palette. Though earlier manuscripts of this school is rare, a few illustrated manuscripts such as *Niśitacūrṇi* dated 1100 A.D., *Jñātāsūtra* dated 1127 A.D., the *Ogha Niryukti*, dated 1161 A D. etc. are preserved. The figures of these manuscripts show a linear concept of drawing, but in these earlier paintings an attempt at modelling by thick line and colour-wash is made, and protrusion of further eye is less marked. But this style was already seeking for expression by purely linear means. By the end of the 13th Century the general stylistic conventions of the school began to settle and the lines became thin and wiry, attempt at modelling completely disappeared, the further eye was allowed to project beyond the facial contour, nose and chin became sharp, decorative pattern of architecture and landscape were introduced in the composition. An elaborate system of sacred symbols and iconographic types is known to Western Indian artists, 'but there is little aesthetic significance in them, and their types are repeated with such nonchalance that they become more or less decorative patterns.'[12]

It may not be wrong to say that the standard Western Indian style owed much to Persian examples in the 15th Century. These paintings have been able to heighten the pictorial effect using scintillating and reverberant colours like gold, ultramarine and carmine.

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12. Jain Miniature Paintings from Western India, Moti Chandra, p. 131.

From the above discussion we conclude that medieval painting, in its formative stage, is distinguished by its following features :

(1) Development of the linear quality, the line acting more as a definer than an aid to accentuation.

(2) Concentration on a single, rather than more than one, episode.

(3) Distinctive presence of colour which tends to become a separate entity rather than merely a component of the object, colour being appreciated as colour by itself.

(4) An over-all thrust towards ornamentation.

It has to be mentioned, however, that this linear overstress in mediaeval painting was just a temporary phase which flourished mainly in Western India and returned to the traditional, comparately non-linearity and tonal stress known in our *Silpaśāstra* as *Vartanākrama*, in the later phase of Indian painting (since C. 16th Century).

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ŚAIVA IMAGES ON ORISSAN TEMPLE WALLS
(From the 7th to the 9th Century A.D.)
D. R. DAS

[About a decade ago the present author started a survey of the temples of eastern India. At the initial stages of this survey the emphasis was entirely on the structural aspect of the temple. Therefore, images embellishing temple walls were not seriously studied nor any attempt was made to assess their value in determining an architectural style. After making some progress in his survey work, the author noticed that in Orissa images of several common types were repeated on walls of temples. Consequently, a necessity was felt for examining the cause of this repitition, which is *prima facie* indicative of an established convention. Moreover, it became imperative to determine whether the place of occurrence and the icnographic features of a given type were fixed irrespective of time and space. An investigation according to this line demanded a re-examination of the temples already visited. But it is a time-consuming venture, the final result of which can be obtained only when the data collection is complete. However, the materials collected so far appear to be of some value in understanding albeit inadequately the tradition of carving or setting images on temple walls. From these materials only those concerning the Śaiva images on early temple walls have been utilised for preparing the present paper. Its purpose is to demonstrate the importance or otherwise of making a detailed analysis of the images and the scheme of their arrangement on temple walls while examining a temple style. The paper deals exclusively with early Śaiva temples of Orissa though for the sake of comparison occasional references have been made to the Śiva shrines in the neighbouring regions in Andhra Pradesh. The temples taken into account are as follows: Śatrughneśvara, Bharateśvara, Lakṣmaṇeśvara, Paraśurāmeśvara, Svarṇajāleśvara, Mohinī, Gaurī-Śaṅkara, Taleśvara, temple of the Pramaguru family, Mārkaṇḍeśvara Śiśireśvara and Uttareśvara (Bhubaneswar) ; Bhṛṅgeśvara (Bajrakot, Dhenkanal District) ; Svapneśvara (Kualo, Dhenkanal District) ; Siṁhanātha and Somanātha (Gopinathpur, Cuttack District) ; Āmaṅgai (on an island near Kandarpur, Cuttack District) ; Māṇikeśvara (Sukleswar, Cuttack District) ; Pātāleśvara and Mallikārjuna (Paikapada, Koraput District). Some of these temples (e.g. Svapneśvara at Kualo) examined long before could not be visited again for taking

iconographic notes. As such observations on these temples have been
made on the basis of casually taken field-notes on the images on
their walls.]

With rare exceptions, temples in Orissa are either of Śaiva or of
Śākta or of Vaiṣṇava affiliation. Before the 10th century A.D., Vaisnavism
was not a very active force in the religious life of Orissa. There is,
therefore, not many Vaiṣṇava shrines datable prior to the 10th century.
Only two such examples are known, viz. the Nīlamādhava at Gandharadi
(Phulbani District) and the Pañca-Pāṇḍava at Ganeswarpur (Cuttack
District). Of the remaining temples of this period, the largest number
is dedicated to Śiva. Apart from enshrining a *liṅga* as the object of
worship, these temples display an array of images on the exterior. Most
of them are Śaiva in character. These images represent Śiva in his
various forms. Sometimes episodes from Saivite mythology are also
depicted. Besides, a most frequently repeated type is the image of
Lakulīśa. , The places of occurrence of these images are the *bāḍa* and the
gaṇḍi of the *baḍa deula* and the wall of the *mukhaśālā*.

1. BAḌA DEULA

(a) Images on the *bāḍa*

Excepting the Śiśireśvara, all early templs of Orissa are *tri-ratha* on .
plan. In such a plan, the wall is divided into three *rathakas* or *pagas*. Of
these three *rathakas* the central one, known as *rāhā*, is set forward a little.
Those at the flanks, called *kanikas*, lie on the same plane. In the *jaṅgha*
section, all these three *ratha-pagas* bear niches in the likeness of miniature
shrines for accommodating divine images.[1] The niche on the *rāhā* being
wider and larger than the rest was meant for a *parivāra-devatā* of god Śiva.[2]
Images occupying the niches on the *kanikas* usually represent various forms
of Śiva. Among such images the identifiable types include Gaṅgādhara
Śiva, Ardhanārī Śiva, Ekapada Śiva, Hari-Hara and Umā-Maheśvara.
Besides, occasional representation of Lakulīśa, the founder of the Pāśupata

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1. The Gokarṇeśvara temple on the Mahendragiri hill (Ganjam District) has no
   image cells on the *jaṅgha*. The niches on the *kanikas* in · the *jaṅgha* section
   of the Āmaṅgai temple are blind. The temple of the Paramagurus and the
   Mallikārjuna are without any compliment of niches on the *kanikas*.

2, The three *parivāra-devatās* to be found on the three sides of the temple are
   Devī, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. In every instance, Devī is shown on the north
   and Gaṇeśa on the south. Kārttikeya shifts his position from east to west,
   according to the orientation of the temple.

sect of Saivism, may also be encountered. Generally, Ekapāda is placed in a niche on the northern side of the *deula*. Only two exceptions to this rule are known. Thus the god appears on the western and the eastern walls of the Śiśireśvara and the Somanātha respectively. There are a few instances where Ekapāda is shown on the wall of the *mukhaśālā* also. In such cases, as in the Pātāleśvara and the Mallikārjuna, the god is present in his appointed place on the northern wall. Mention in this connection be made of the Madhukeśvara temple at Mukhalingam (Srikakulam District, Andhrapradesh), where the image of Ekapāda Śiva is depicted on the northern wall of the *mukhaśālā*. Presence of the same deity on the northern side of the *deula* is also noticed in the Someśvara temple at Mukhalingam and the Divyeśvara temple at Saripalli and two temples at Jayati (Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh).[3] Of the other images on the *bāḍa*, there is only one example of Lakulīśa. It is furnished by the Bhrṅgeśvara temple, where the Śaiva saint adorns a niche on the southern wall. Significantly, he is placed on the southern side of the three Andhra temples, viz. Someśvara at Mukhalingam and two temples at Jayati. The Śiśireśvara has the central niche on the southern wall of its *mukhaśālā* occupied by an image of Lakulīśa. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the prevalent custom was to place Lakulīśa on the southern side of the *bāḍa*. If that was the rule, the Mallikārjuna offers a deviation by showing Lakulīśa on the northern wall of its *mukhaśālā*. As regards Gaṅgādhara, there are only three known temples, viz. the Bhrṅgeśvara, the Mārkaṇḍeśvara and the Śiśireśvara, which preserve the images of the god *in situ*. At each place, the deity is found on the western wall of the *deula*.[4] The god is, however, displayed on the southern side by those Andhra temples like the Divyeśvara, the Someśvara and the two shrines at Jayati. Gaṅgādhara occupies a niche on the southern side of the *mukhaśālā* of the Madhukeśvara. Also in the Mallikārjuna, the deity remains on the southern side of the *mukhaśālā*. But his position is different in the Pātāleśvara, where he makes his appearence on the northern wall of the *mukhaśālā*. It is, therefore, apparent that there was hardly any standard rule regarding the side of a temple Gaṅgādhara should occupy. At the same time the possibility of the existence of certain regional preferences for showing him on different sides of the

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3. An image of Ekapāda is carved on the northern side of the Durgā temple at Baidyeswar (Cuttack District).

4. In the central niche on the western wall of the Siṁhanātha can now be seen an image of Gaṅgādhara. The ill-fitting image, however, is evidently a later introduction.

temple cannot be excluded.   At least the temples of Andhra Pradesh noted above evince a preference for the southern side while depicting Gaṅgādhara on the wall of the *deula*.   For Hari-Hara a niche was alloted either on the western or on the southern or rarely on the eastern wall of the *deula*.   The Siṁhanātha and the Bhṛṅgeśvara show him on the west. In Andhra Pradesh, the Divyeśvara and the two Jayati temples also display him on the western side of the wall.   Hari-Hara is present in a niche on the western wall of the *mukhaśālā* of the Pātāleśvara temple.   But the Śiśireśvara and also probably the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, exibit him on the southern side of their respective *deulas*.   The west-facing Somanātna, however, has the image of Hari-Hara on its eastern side.   In the same-way, the west-facing Someśvara accommodates this image on its eastern wall. But the Madhukeśvara displays Hari-Hara on the northern side of its *mukhaśālā*.   Regarding the representation of Ardhanārīśvara, no specific direction was fixed.   In the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, the Somanātha and the *mukhaśālā* of the Mallikārjuna, Ardhanārīśvara is shown on the northern side.   The Śiśreśvara and the Bhṛṅgeśvara show him on the southern side. His image is carved on the southern side of the *mukhaśālā* of the Madhu- keśvara.   He is placed on the western wall of the Siṁhanātha and also of the two Jayati temples and the Divyeśvara.   The Someśvara gives him a niche on its eastern wall.

In addition to the forms described above, the representation of other aspects of Śiva by images in the *jāṅgha* niches has also been noticed.   But such aspects of Śiva, as the extant images would show, were seldom depicted more than once.   In the Somanātha, Umā- Maheśvara is represented on the southern wall.   Though in no other temple the *kanika* niche is occupied by the same aspect of Śiva, the Bhavānī-Śaṅkara has an image of Umā-Maheśvara on the *rāhā* of its eastern wall, which happens to be the only exposed side of this otherwise buried temple.[5]   A damaged figure of probably twelve handed Naṭarāja is still preserved in a *kanika* niche on the northern wall of the Bharateśvara.   Other forms of Śiva in the *jāṅgha* niches, however, are not readily identifiable.   For the sake of convenience they together with

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5.   The usual practice in Orissa was to show Kārttika in the eastern *rāhā* niche of a west-facing temple or the western *rāhā* niche of an east-facing temple.   In the Kedāreśvara (Bhubaneswar), which faces south, Kārttika is found to have changed his position from the eastern/western wall to the northern wall.   The absence of Kārttika from the eastern *rāhā* of the Bhavānī-Śaṅkara may also be due to the temple's south-north orientation.

such unidentifiable images in other parts of the temple are classified as type I, type II and so on and described in the section on Iconography. Among these images type nos. III and XI are accommodated respectively by the two *kanika* niches on the north of the Śiśireśvara. The type XIV is exemplified by the six-handed Śiva on the northern wall of the Simhanātha.

A *kanika* niche on the southern wall of the Mohinī preserves in a very damaged condition a pair of standing male figures. Both of them are two handed. The one on the left has a trident as his attribute while the other on the right is holding a battle-axe. The figures may be Śaivite in nature unless they are purely of a secular character.

The Māṇikeśvara temple at Sukleswar, now preserved only upto a little above its *pābhāga*, has in the niche on its southern *rāhā* a standing male deity. Of his two hands the left one is broken. In the right hand, he holds a staff the upper part of which is missing. The *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature suggests that the deity represents a form of Śiva. In that case, the staff in his right hand had the three-pronged tip of a trident. It should be noted here that the *rāhā* niches were meant for the *parivāra-devatās* of Śiva. Why this practice was not followed in filling the southern-*rāhā* niche of the Māṇikeśvara is not clearly understood.

As said before, niches in the *jāṅgha* section of the *bāḍa* were generally fashioned in the likeness of a miniature shrine. The superstructures of these shrine-like niches were sometimes embellished with divine figures. Some such figures are still preserved on the wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Of these figures, those belonging to the Śaiva group are the following : bust of Śiva, Naṭarāja type II, Śiva type I, Vīṇādhara Śiva with Pārvatī (eastern wall) ; Śiva (?) type II (southern wall). The lintel above the *rāhā*-niche on the eastern wall depicts the scene of marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī. The Svarṇajāleśvara also once displayed divine figures on the niche-towers. Most of these figures are now missing. Among the extant images, one is the bust of Śiva (northern wall) and another is of Umā-Maheśvara (southern wall). It has been reported that the three friezes on the lintel above the northern *rāhā*-niche depicted, from bottom upwards, Umā-Maheśvara, the worship of the *liṅga* and the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.[6] Today only the marriage scene of Śiva can be seen.

Occasionally the *kānti* in *baraṇḍa* section of the *bāḍa* was embellished with sculptures which sometimes depicted Śaiva images or narrated

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6. Debala Mitra, *Bhubaneswar*, New Delhi, 1966, p. 31.

scenes from Saivite mythology. A panel in the *kāṇṭi* on the southern side of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara shows in an unambiguously sectarian way the worship of Śiva by Viṣṇu and Brahmā. The sculptures on the *kāṇṭi* on the northern side and those in the corresponding section on the southern side of the Bharateśvara illustrate respectively the procession of the marriage party of Śiva and the scene of marriage of Śiva with Pārvatī. The fight between Śiva, in the guise of Kirāta, and Arjuna is the theme of a panel in the *kāṇṭi* on the western wall of the Svarṇajāleśvara.

(b)   Images on the *gaṇḍi*

Like the *bāḍa*, the *gaṇḍi* of the temple was also made to carry images of Śiva and other divinities. The most prominent place of display of these images is the large *caitya*-gable carved at the base of the *rāhā* on each face of the *gaṇḍi*. Of these *caitya*-gables, the one on the facade happens to be the largest (Fig. no.15). As on other sides, it usually consists of a circurlar frame above an egg-shaped or a rectangular frame and a *kīrtimukha* crest. Where preserved, the circular frame is found to contain an image of Naṭarāja. The only known exception is provided by the north-west corner shrine of the Svapneśvara at Kualo. In this instance, Naṭarāja is placed within the egg-shaped frame.[7] The same space in the Svarṇajāleśvara and the Siṁhanātha is filled with the image of Umā-Maheśvara. The Bharateśvara and the Paraśurāmeśvara depict the Rāvaṇānugraha scene in this lower medallion. In the Somanātha, it accommodates three standing male figures. The exact nature of these three figures, however, is not understandable.

The *caitya*-gable on the facade of the Paraśurāmeśvara is surmounted by an image of Lakulīśa. Above it, the three-headed bust of Maheśa is placed inside a *caitya*-arch. Probably a similar arrangement of Lakulīśa and Maheśa was made on the facade of the Bharateśvara. But the image of Maheśa, if it was there, is now missing.

On the northern side of the Paraśurāmeśvara, the *caitya*-arch at the base of the *rāhā* of the *gaṇḍi* carries in its upper medallion the image of Naṭarāja. Above it, a form of Śiva in sitting posture (type V) is carved inside another *caitya*-arch.

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7. Naṭarāja occupies the egg-shaped medallion of the *caitya*-gable on the facade of the Madhukeśvara.

In the Siṁhanātha and the Somanātha, the *caitya*-arch at the base of the *rāhā* on the southern side displays in its lower medallion the Gajaha-Andhakavadha aspect of Śiva. The *caitya*-arch in the corresponding section of the Śiśireśvara has in its upper medallion the bust of Śiva. In the Mārkaṇḍeśvara, it is a seated image of four-handed Śiva (type VI). The large *caitya*-arch on the southern side of the *gaṇḍi* of the Paraśurāmeśvara frames within its lower and upper medallions images of of Bhikṣāṭana Śiva and Naṭarāja respectively. The Śiśireśvara depicts the bust of Śiva in the upper medallion on the south.

On the rear, the large *caitya*-arch of the east-facing Siṁhanātha has in its lower medallion a representation of Lakulīśa and in the upper, probably the image of Śiva (type IV). Lakulīśa is also shown in the lower medallion of such a *caitya*-arch in the rear corresponding to the eastern side of the Somanātha. The Śiśireśvara, however, in conformity with its other sides depicts the bust of Śiva in the upper medallion.

Besides the *rāhās*, divine images were sometimes found to appear on other parts of the *gaṇḍi* also. Some of them are still preserved on the Paraśurāmeśvara. These images include among others a standing image of Śiva representing type X of the unidentifiable category and a seated image also probably of Śiva. The former is placed in the first *bhumi* of the right side *kanika paga* on the north of the *gaṇḍi*. The latter, whose details cannot be discerned because of its presence at the upper part of tower, occurs in the fourth *bhumi* of the left side *kanika paga* on the south of the *gaṇḍi*. A seated figure of Lakulīśa is carved in the first *bhumi* stage of the left side *kanika paga* on the south of the *gaṇḍi* of the Śiśiresvara. Probably the *kanikas* of the towers of such temples like the Svarṇajāleśvara and those of the Śatrughneśvara group were embellished with divine images. But none of these figures is preserved today.

(c)   Images on the *Lakṣmī-dvāra*

In Orissa, the main doorway of the temple is known as *Lakṣmī-dvāra*.[9] Apparently, the door is so known because of the usual presence of a Gaja-lakṣmī image as its *lalāṭavimba* (crest figure). Again for the same reason, the lintel, on which the crest figure is carved, is called *Lakṣmīpāṭa*. It should be noted in this connection that though the usual custom was to carve an image of Gaja-lakṣmī as the *lalāṭavimba* of the doorway, there are sporadic examples of other divinities being shown

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9. N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture*, Calcutta, 1932, p. 174.

as the crest figure. Among other images carved on the door-frame, the two *dvārapālas* flanking the doorway are conspicuous by their frequent recurrence. Their place of occurrence is the base of the jamb on either side of the door-way. On rare occasions, *dvārapāla* images are placed in niches on two sides of the door-frame. For example, the Simhanātha has two such niches on the facade of the *mukhaśālā* accommodating two *dvārapālas* in addition to those on the door-jambs. The Uttareśvara also has two such *dvārapāla* niches on the facade of *mukhaśālā*. But in this instance, the door-frame is without the compliment of the doorkeepers.

Lalāṭavimba : Only two examples of crest figures of a Saivite character have so far been noticed. One of them depicts Śiva with his consort Umā. The temple showing Umā-Maheśvara as the *lalāṭavimba* is the Bharateśvara.[10] In the other type, the *lalāṭavimba* is an image of Lakulīśa. The lone example of this type is furnished by the small temple of the Paramagurus (Fig. no. 9).

Dvārapāla : The images of the doorkeepers are of two types. In the one type, it is of a placid form and in the other of a terrible appearance.

2. MUKHAŚĀLĀ

Sometimes a rectangular *mukhaśālā* preceded the *baḍa deula* of the early group of Orissan temples. Many of these *mukhaśālās* have disappeared or undergone a thorough renovation. But those, which have escaped,. to a certain extent, the ravages of man and nature, exhibit on their walls Śaiva and other images. Among the images having Śaiva affiliation, Hari-Hara appears on the southern side of the Paraśu-rāmeśvara[11] and the western side of the Pātāleśvara, Ardhanārīśvara on the southern side of the Paraśurāmeśvara and the northern side of the Mallikārjuna, Gaṅgādhara on the southern side of the Mallikārjuna and the northern side of the Pātāleśvara, Ekapāda on the northern side of both the Mallikārjuna and the Pātāleśvara, Naṭarāja and Gajaha-Andhakavadha-*mūrti* on the southern side of the Pātāleśvara,

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10. Umā-Maheśvara also appears as *lalāṭavimba* in the Bhīmeśvara and the south-west corner shrine of the Madhukeśvara.

11. K. C. Panigrahi (*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Bombay etc., 1961, p. 69) identifies this image as Viṣṇu. But the *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature and the emblems clearly show that it is a representation of Hari-Hara.

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Liṅgodbhava[12] and Caṇḍeśānugraha images on the southern side of the Siṁhanātha, Umā-Maheśvara on the southern side of each of the Paraśurā-meśvara, the Mallikārjuna and the Pātāleśvara and Lakuliśa on the southern side of the Śiśireśvara and the northern side of both the Paraśurā-meśvara and the Mallikārjuna. A youthful form of Śiva holding a staff in the right hand occurs in a niche by the side of the Caṇḍeśānugraha panel on the mukhaśālā wall of the Siṁhanātha. It is not unlikely that this figure represents the Bhikṣāṭana aspect of Śiva. Besides, images of Śiva representing types VII, IX, XII and XIII are found on the northern wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara, southern wall of the Mallikārjuna, northern walls of the Śiśireśvara and the Pātāleśvara respectively. The southern wall of the Mallikārjuna and the northern wall of the Pātāleśvara bear each an image of Śiva of type VIII. A three-headed Maheśamūrti is carved on the northern side of the Paraśurāmeśvara while the bust of Śiva is depicted on both the northern and the southern sides of the same temple. In the Śiśireśvara, the frieze of the projected eave on the northern side of the mukhaśālā roof depicts a scene of the fight between Kirāta and Arjuna.

It is apparent from what has been said above that no uniform set of images was developed for embellishing mukhaśālā walls. Some image-types recur more than once. But seldom they are repeated more than twice. Only Umā-Maheśvara and Lakuliśa have been depicted thrice. Images, which have been exhibited twice, include Hari-Hara, Ardhanā-rīśvara, Gaṅgādhara, Ekapāda and type VIII. It may be noted here that, in all the three instances, the depiction of Umā-Maheśvara has been made on the southern wall. Similarly, Ekapāda is shown on the northern wall. In the display of other images no such uniformity is found.

3. ICONOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF IMAGES

Śaiva images appearing on the walls of the early temples of Orissa may be broadly divided into three categories. The first group depicts Śiva in his different forms. In the second group belong various Saivite figures. The third group portrays in a narrative fashion scenes from the mythology of Śiva.

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12. According to the āgamas, Liṅgodbhavamūrti is required to be placed in the western wall of the garbha-gṛha (T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Elements of Hindu Iconography, Varanasi and Delhi, 1971, Vol. I, Part I, p. 105). In no temple of Orissa, this canonical injunction is found to have been observed.

A. Images of Śiva

Images of the first group illustrate (i) the *saumya*, (ii) the *ugra* and (iii) the *anugraha* aspects of Śiva. In some instances images are made to express a definite sectarian feeling. Excepting the Naṭarāja images, Śiva is generally endowed with four hands. There is, however, one example in which the god has six hands. The *Ūrdhvaliṅga* feature is another characteristic which is found in many of the images of Śiva. Some of these images are identifiable while many of them cannot be properly identified. The images, which cannot be identified, are given classified numbers for the purpose of reference.

(i) *Saumya* type

Of the *Saumya* images the following have been noticed on different parts of the temple wall :

Gaṅgādhara : Images of Gaṅgādhara (Fig. no. 10) are found on the *jāṅgha* section of the *baḍa deula* and the wall of the *mukhaśālā*. All such images are endowed with four hands and shown in the *sthānaka* pose. A miniature figure of Gaṅgā is usually carved on one side of the head of Śiva. The descent of the river goddess from the matted hair of Śiva is suggested in some instances by the placing of a second image of Gaṅgā near the feet of Gaṅgādhara. Occasionally, the composition of the Gaṅgādhara panel includes the kneeling figure of Bhagīratha. On account of the difference of attributes, better preserved images of Gaṅgādhara may be grouped into two types.

Temple	u.r.	l.r.	u.l.	l.l.
Pātāleśvara	releasing Gaṅgā from the matted locks.	damaged	trident	pot
Śiśireśvara (Fig. no. 10)	rosary	*varada*	releasing Gaṅgā from the matted hair.	pot

Probably, the damaged Gaṅgādhara image from the Mārkaṇḍeśvara resembled the Śiśireśvara example in all essential details.

Hari-Hara : Images of Hari-Hara are noticed on the *jāṅgha* of the *baḍa deula* and the wall of the *mukhaśālā*. All such images are in the

sthānaka pose[13] with the right half representing Śiva and the left half Viṣṇu (Fig. no. 3). The deity is endowed with four hands whose attributes are not the same in every image. On the basis of the difference in attributes the better preserved images of Hari-Hara have been classified into five types.

Temple	u.r.	l.r.	u.l.	l.l.
Bharateśvara	trident	damaged	*cakra*	conch
Paraśurāmeśvara	damaged	citron	*cakra*	lotus
Śiśireśvara	rosary	indistinct	conch	*gadā*
Pātāleśvara	trident	*varada* with lotus mark on the palm.	conch	*gadā*
Siṁhanātha	rosary	citron	flower	*gadā*

Ardhanārīśvara : This image is found on the *jaṅgha* of the *baḍa deula* and the wall of the *mukhaśālā*. In this image, the right half represents Śiva and the left half Devī. The deity is usually shown in the *sthānaka* pose. But the Ardhanārīśvara from the Mallikārjuna is seated in *padmāsana* (Fig. no. 5). The images of this aspect of Śiva are generally endowed with four hands. But the image from the Bharateśvara has five hands and that from the Paraśurāmeśvara eight hands. Among the extant examples of this composite form of Śiva, at least six types can be recognised.

Temple	u.r.	l.r.	u.l.	l.l.
Siṁhanātha and Bhṛṅgeśvara	rosary	citron	mirror	flower
Mallikārjuna	trident	cup	mirror	citron
Śiśireśvara	damaged	indistinct	flower	indistinct
Mārkaṇḍeśvara	damaged	damaged	damaged	flower

The fifth type is represented by the five-handed Ardhanārīśvara from the Bharateśvara. Of the five hands three are on the right and two on the left. Clockwise from the lower right to the lower left the hands hold the following attributes : 1. trident, 2. damaged, 3. rosary, 4. mirror and 5. bunch of flowers.

The sixth type is illustrated by the partly damaged image of eight-handed Ardhanārīśvara from the Paraśurāmeśvara. Clockwise from the

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13. An image of Hari-Hara in the seated posture is carved on the northern face of the superstructure of the Vaitāla Deula, a Śākta temple at Bhubaneswar.

lower right to the lower left the emblems and postures of hands are as follows : 1. akimbo, 2. rosary, 3. *cinmudrā*, 4. battle axe, 5. mirror, 6. manuscript (?), 7. indistinct and 8. akimbo.

Umā-Maheśvara : Images of Umā-Maheśvara are carved on the *jāṅgha*, the *lakṣmī-dvāra* and the *gaṇḍi* of the *baḍa deula* and the wall of the *mukhaśālā*. In the composition of this image, Umā sits by the left side of Śiva. Usually, a bull and a lion are carved below their seat. The images of Umā-Maheśvara can be divided broadly into two groups on the basis of the number of hands of Śiva. In the first group belongs an image from the Bharateśvara showing Śiva with two hands.[14] Images of the second group depict Śiva with four hands. In every instance, however, Umā has two hands.

Śiva of the Bharateśvara example holds in his right hand a flower and embraces Umā with the left. A trident is stuck on the right behind his back. Umā sitting on his left places her right hand on the thigh of Śiva. Her left hand is broken.

Of the images of the second group, the one carved on the *mukhaśālā* wall of the Paraśurāmeśvara shows a small figure of Gaṇeśa between the bull and the lion on the pedestal upon which the divine couple are sitting. Umā putting the right elbow on the shoulder of Śiva grips with her right hand the palm of the left. A slightly different treatment of Umā may be seen in the image from the Pātāleśvara. Here Umā embraces Śiva with her right hand and carries a flower in the left. In the Bhavānī-Śaṅkara, Umā embraces Śiva with her right hand (Fig. no. 4). Her left hand is missing. In all these images, Śiva is depicted in the *sukhāsana*. But his emblems, as the table below would show, are not disposed in the same way in every image.

Temple	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
Pātāleśvara[16]	rosary	*abhaya*	trident	embracing Umā
Paraśurāmeśvara	trident	flower	embracing Devī	resting on knee
Bhavānī-Śaṅkara	rosary	*vyākhyāna mudrā*	trident	embracing Umā

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14. A lintel, which apcears to have belonged originally to the Lakṣmaṇeśvara, also depicts two handed Śiva sitting by the side of Umā.

15. This type is also probably represented by the Umā-Maheśvara image on the *mukhaśālā* wall of the Mallikārjuna. The lower right hand of Śiva and the right hand of Umā are missing. Otherwise the composition is identical with that found on the *mukhaśālā* wall of the Pātāleśvara.

There are two images of Umā-Maheśvara illustrating the *vīṇādhara*
aspect of Śiva. One of them is carved on the sham superstructure of the left
side *kaṇika* niche in the *jaṅgha* section of the eastern wall of the Paraśu-
rāmeśvara. The other image, which is badly damaged, occupies the left
side *kaṇika* niche on the southern wall of the Somanātha. The Paraśu-
rāmeśvara example shows Śiva playing on the *vīṇā* with his two principal
hands. In the remaining right and left hands he holds a flower (?) and
embraces Umā respectively. Of the two hands of Devī, the right one
is resting on Śiva's lap while the left one carries a lotus.

Maheśamūrti : The two known examples of three-headed Maheśa
comes from the Paraśurāmeśvara.[16] Both of them are identical in composi-
tion. The three heads from right to left represent, as in other such images
from elsewhere, the *ghora* and the *saumya* aspects of Śiva and Umā.
Because of the head in the centre representing the placid form of Śiva,
this image-type has been included within the *saumya* group.

Bust of Śiva : The characteristic features of this image are *jaṭāmukuṭa*
and *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear. Sometimes the third eye is shown on
the forehead. Generally, the image is framed by a *caitya*-arch.

Naṭarāja : Images of Śiva in dancing pose may be classified into
several varieties on the basis of the number of hands they possess. There
are in all five such varieities which show Śiva respectively with four, six,
(Fig. no. 15) eight, ten and twelve hands. Images of each variety again
resolve into sub-varieties because of the difference in their *āyudhas* and
mudrās. But all these images depict Śiva in the *svastikāpasritam* pose.
In no image, however, Śiva is shown dancing on the *apasmārapuruṣa*.

In the table prepared below the emblems and postures of hands of
the Naṭarāja images have been described in a clockwise order from the
lower right to the lower left hand. The place of occurrence of an image
has been given only when it is found on a temple bearing more than one
representation of the dancing god.

<div align="center">Naṭarāja with four hands</div>

Type	Temple	Āyudha/Mudrā
I	Paraśurāmeśvara (upper medallion of the *caitya*-arch at the base of the *rāhā* of the *gaṇḍi* on the southern side of the *baḍa deula*)	1. damaged, 2. trident, 3. *gajahasta*, 4. snake.

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16. Panigrahi (op. cit., p. 73) refers to only one such image on the *mukhaśālā* wall
    of the Paraśurāmeśvara.

Type	Temple	*Āyudha/Mudrā*
II	Paraśurāmeśvara (right side *kanika* in the *jāṅgha* section on the eastern side of the *baḍa deula*)	1. *gajahasta*, 2. trident, 3. *abhaya*, 4. snake.
III	Paraśurāmeśvara (right side *kanika* in the *jāṅgha* section on the northern side of the *baḍa deula*)	1. rosary, 2. snake, 3. trident, 4. *gajahasta*.

<div align="center">Naṭarāja with six hands</div>

IV	Paramaguru-family temple (Fig. no. 15).	1. damaged, 2. rosary, 3 & 4. raised above with fingers pointing to head, 5. *gajahasta*, 6. snake.

<div align="center">Naṭarāja with eight hands</div>

V	Paraśurāmeśvara (upper medallion of the *caitya-arch* at the base of the *rāhā* on the northern face of the *gaṇḍi*)	1. damaged, 2. trident, 3. rosary, 4 & 5. raising a snake above head, 6. *gajahasta*, 7. damaged, 8. damaged.
VI	Pātāleśvara	1. *varada* with lotus-mark on the plam, 2. *cinmudrā*, 3. *damaru*, 4 & 5. stretching a snake above head, 6. *gajahasta*, 7. trident, 8. touching the chin of an attendant.
VI	Śiśireśvara[17]	1. akimbo, 2. snake, 3. *vyākhyānamudrā*, 4 & 5. raised above with the palms turned to the head, 6. *gajahasta*, 7. flower, 8. cup.
VII	Somanātha	emblems indistinct

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17. Panigrahi (*op. cit.*, p. 82) thinks that it is a 10-handed image like the Naṭarāja on the *sukanāsa* of the Vaitāla. He further says that these two images resemble each other in respect of emblems and hand poses. But the Naṭarāja on the facade of the Śiśireśvara is neither 10-handed nor identical with the Vaitāla example in the display of *āyudhas* and *mudrās*.

Naṭarāja with ten hands

Type	Temple	Āyndha/Mudrā
VIII	Siṁhanātha	1. club, 2. *vajra*, 3. *khatvāṅga*, 4. sword, 5. *abhaya*, 6. *gajahasta*, 7. trident, 8. flower, 9. rosary, 10. snake (?).
IX	Paraśūrāmeśvara *(sukanāsa)*	1. snake, 2. damaged, 3. *vyākhyānamudrā*, 4. *gajahasta*, 5. damaged, 6. indistinct, 7. *cinmudrā*, 8. *vyākhyānamudrā* 9. trident, 10. *jñānamudrā*.

Naṭarāja with twelve hands

Type	Temple	Āyndha/Mudrā
X	Bharateśvara (left-side *kanika* niche on the northern face of the *bāḍa*.)	1. akimbo, 2. *vīṇā*, 3. rosary, 4 & 5. damaged, 6 & 7. stretching a snake above head, 8. trident fitted with a battle-axe, 9, 10, 11 & 12. damaged. Note : An image of Kārttika is carved on the right of the dancing god.
XI	Bharateśvara *(sukanāsa)*	1. citron, 2. flower, 3, 4. and 5. damaged, 6. & 7. stretching a snake above head, 8. *gajahasta*, 9. damaged, 10. *damaru*, 11. rosary, 12. indistinct.
XII	Mārkaṇḍeśvara	1. akimbo, 2. snake, 3. damaged, 4. rosary, 5. *vyākhānamudrā*, 6 & 7. raised above head with the fingers pointing to the head, 8. *vyākhyānamudrā*, 9. damaged, 10. *gajahasta*, 11. cup, 12. touching the chin of an attendant.

Bhikṣāṭana Śiva[18] :   The only known example of this form of Śiva is framed by the large *caitya*-arch at the base of the *rāhā* on the southern face of the-*gaṇḍi* of the Paraśurameśvara (Fig. no. 13). In the composition of this image, Śiva and Devī as Annapūrṇā stand face to face with a dwarf in between.   Holding a parasol in the right hand, Śiva extends with his left hand a begging bowl.   Annapūrṇā is shown as offering alms in that cup. A doubtful example of the Bhikṣāṭana aspect of Śiva may be found on the *mukhaśālā* wall of the Siṁhanātha (Fig. no. 14).   Here Śiva having a youthful form and exhibiting *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature holds a staff in his right hand.   Something, which appears to be tied to the upper end of the staff, may consist of the bones of the slain *brahmacārī*.

Unidentifiable Forms[19] :   Several images, majority of which apparently belonging to the *saumya* category on account of their placid countenance, remain unidentified.   Most of these images are four-handed, a few are two handed and only one is six-handed.   A list of these images have been given below.

Two-handed variety

Type	Temple	*Sthāna*	Right hand	Left hand
I	Paraśurameśvara	*āsana*	trident	indistinct
II	Paraśurameśvara	*āsana*	rosary	pressed on the ground.
III	Śiśireśvara	*sthānaka*	damaged	flower
IV	Siṁhanātha	*āsana*	touching chin of the attendant.	pressed against the thigh.

Four-handed variety

Type	Temple	*Sthāna*	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
V	Paraśurāmeśvara	*āsana*	rosary	*abhaya*	indistinct	pressed on the ground.
VI	Mārkaṇḍeśvara	*āsana*	rosary	damaged	-do-	damaged.

18. J. N. Banerjea (*The Development of Hindu Iconography*, New Delhi 1974, p. 483) thinks that this placid from of Śiva is secondarily associated with the Kaṅkālamūrti, representing a dire aspect of Śiva.   He further says that a story is probably underlying it, but the mythological association is not very clear.

19. The cult affiliation of many images cannot be determined because of their location in the upper part of the *gaṇḍi* and the smallness of their size.

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Type	Temple	Sthāna	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
VII	Paraśurāmeśvara	*āsana*	rosary	flower	trident	pressed on the ground.
VIII	Pātāleśvara and Mallikārjuna	*āsana*	rosary	*varada*	trident	axe
IX	Mallikārjuna	*āsana*	trident	*varada*	cup	*abhaya*
X	Paraśurāmeśvara	*sthānaka*	trident	cup	rosary	akimbo
XI	Śiśireśvara	*sthānaka*	rosary	akimbo	trident	cup
XII	Śiśireśvara	*sthānaka*	rosary	damaged	flower	citron
XIII	Pātāleśvara	*āsana*	trident	*varada*	damaged	citron

Type XIV is illustrated by a six-handed image of Śiva (Fig. no. 7). It is placed in the right-side *kanika*-niche on the northern face of the *bāḍa* of the Siṃhanātha. The deity is standing on a corpse. For this reason, this image seems to represent a terrible aspect of Śiva. Clockwise from the lower right to the lower left the six hands of the deity exhibit rosary, indistinct object, *varada*, battle axe, noose and pot.

(ii) *Ugra* Type

Besides images representing Śiva in his *saumya* or placid form, there are a few more which belong to the *ghora* or *ugra* type. These images illustrate such terrible aspects of Śiva as Ekapāda, Vīrabhadra and Gajaha-Andhakāsuravadha.

Ekapāda Śiva : In the epic texts Ekapāda is described both as one of the eleven Rudras and an epithet of Śiva[20]. In his iconographic representation, the god stands on one leg and wears a terrible countenance. Usually, he is characterised by a *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear and the *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature. The images of Ekapāda can be divided into two groups, one having two hands (Fig. no. 1) and the other four hands (Fig. no. 2). These groups may further be resolved into sub-groups on the basis of the arrangement of emblems in the hands.

Two-handed variety

Temple	Right hand	Left hand
Siṃhanātha	rosary	pot
Somanātha	*varada*	citron

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20. See Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

Four-handed variety

Temple	u.r.	l.r.	u.l.	l.l.
Sisiresvara	rosary	*varada* with lotus mark on the palm.	trident	citron
Tālesvara	rosary	*varada* with lotus mark on the palm.	trident	arrow (? citron ?)
Mallikārjuna[21]	trident	rosary	snake	pot

Vīrabhadra : Though belonging to the *ugra* category,[22] the Vīrabhadra aspect of Śiva is never portrayed by images with a fearful appearance. In all the extant examples, the deity is associated with the Saptamātrkā group probably as the guardian of the Divine Mothers. His Saivite character is emphasised by the *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature. As regards hands of the deity, the number varies between two and four. A two-handed image of Vīrabhadra is found at the beginning of a Saptamātrkā panel on the facade of the Simhanātha-*mukhasālā* (Fig. no. 16) The deity, seated in *lalitāsana*, plays on a *vīṇā* with his two hands. Similarly leading the panel of Seven Mothers appears a four-handed image of Vīrabhadra[23] on the northern wall of the *mukhasālā* of the Parasuramesvara. In his lower and upper right hands he carries a flower and a rosary respectively. The lower left hand is resting on the ground and the upper left hand holds a trident the stump of which is stuck to the ground.[24]

Gajaha-Andhakāsuravadhamūrti : Two aspects of Śiva as the destroyer of Gajāusura and that of Andhakāsura have been combined in an image-type which may be described as the Gajaha-Andhakavadhamūrti. Of the three such images belonging to the Simhanātha, the Pātālesvara (Fig. no. 6) and the Somanātha respectively, the first one is six-handed, the second one is eight-handed and the last one is badly damaged. In the six-handed image, the principal right and left hands are shown in the act of piercing Andhakāsura with a trident, the upper right and left hands are

21. In the Ekapādamūrti on the *mukhasālā* wall of the Pātālesvara, the upper right hand is damaged. The emblems held in the remaining hands are arranged in the way these are found in the hands of Ekapāda belonging to the Mallikārjuna.

22. See Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

23. Panigrahi (*op. cit.*, p. 72) refers to only two hands of this image.

24. Four-handed Vīrabhadra images may also be found in the Vaitāla Deula and in a Mātrkā temple belonging to the Pātālesvara temple-complex.

holding aloft the hide of Gajāsura and the lower left hand is carrying a cup for collecting the blood of Andhakāsura. The lower right hand of the image is damaged. Likewise the eight-handed image pierces Andhaka with a trident held by his principal right and left hands. The uppermost right and left hands stretch above head the hide of Gajāsura. In the remaining two right hands, he carries a dagger and a *ḍamaru* while his corresponding left hands exhibit *cinmudrā* and a cup.

(iii) *Anugrahamūrtis*

The themes of some of the reliefs illustrate the *anugraha* aspect of Śiva. One of them is the Rāvaṇānugrahamūrti, an elaborate display of which is made on the *sukanāsa* of the Paraśurāmeśvara. A similar but much damaged relief also adorns the facade of the Bharateśvara. In the Paraśurāmeśvara example, Rāvaṇa is shown in the act of attempting to raise the Mount Kailāsa. Seated on the Kailāsa, Śiva is clasping Pārvatī with his left hand and raising the right in *abhaya*. The composition further includes Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and some other figures.

In another sculpture carved on the Siṁhanātha, the theme of the Caṇḍeśānugraha (Fig. no. 12) has been illustrated.[25] The whole episode, however, is given a very summary treatment. Thus the panel merely shows Śiva in the act of putting a garland round the head of Caṇḍeśa who is worshipping the god.

(iv) Sectarian Type

Sculptures of an explicitly sectarian bias are confined to two examples only. One of them is a panel in the *kānṭi* on the left side of the southern *rāhā* of the Mārkaṇḍeśvara. It presents Śiva as receiving homage from Viṣṇu and Brahmā.

The Liṅgodbhavamūrti (Fig. no. 11) from the Siṁhanātha is another such sculpture where the supreme position of Śiva in relation to Viṣṇu and Brahmā has been emphasised. In this composition, a flaming column representing the phallic emblem of Śiva is placed in the centre. On its top left corner Brahmā is flying up in his vain attempt to reach the upper end of the *liṅga*. On the right side of the base of the column, Viṣṇu is burrowing down in a similar attempt to see its bottom.

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25. About the Caṇḍeśānugrahāmūrti, Banerjea remarks that it is 'typically south Indian mostly hailing from the Cola region' (*op. cit.*, p. 484). But this view demands modification in the light of the evidence furnished by the Siṁhanātha.

B.   Saivite Images

In this group may be included the images of Lakulīśa and those of the *dvārapālas*. There are many other figures apparently of a Saivite affiliation. But as these figures do not represent any iconographic type, they are excluded from this list.

Lakulīśa :   This Śaiva saint is given a deified form while represented through images (Fig. nos. 8 & 9).   In every image he holds the *lakuṭa* staff between one arm.   But in respect of his sitting posture, the images show two types. In the first type, Lakulīśa sits crossed legged in the *vaddhapadmāsana*. In the other, he is found seated crossed legged with heels kept close to the bottom and knees raised above the seat.   A cloth band (*yogapaṭṭa*) is tied round the raised knees.   According to the iconographic terminology, this sitting posture is known as *utkuṭikāsana*.[26]   As regards the number of hands, both two-handed and four-handed images have been noticed. When two-handed, the image displays the preaching gesture in the likeness of the *dharmacakra-pravartana-mudrā*.   Four-handed images of Lakulīśa also exhibit the preaching *mudrā* with the principal right and left hands.

On the basis of sitting postures, number of hands and emblems held, the images of Lakulīśa can be classified in the following way :

Two-handed variety

Type	Temple	*Āsana*
I	Paraśurāmeśvara, Śiśireśvara Simhanātha, Paramaguru- family temple, Bharateśvara	*vaddhapadmāsana*
II	Simhanātha, Somanātha and Bhṛṅgeśvara	*utkuṭikāsana*

Four-handed variety

Type	Temple	u.r.	u.l.	*Āsana*
III	Śiśireśvara	rosary	flower	*vaddhapadmāsana*
IV	Mallikārjuna	rosary	indistinct	*utkuṭikāsana*

An analysis of the image-types listed above would show that the images of Lakulīśa having two hands and seated in *vaddhapadmāsana* were

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26. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

more popular than the remaining types. Apparently, the earliest images of Lakulīśa were treated in this fashion since some of the temples, on which images of this type appear, have been ascribed to the initial phase of Orissan temple architecture. The Siṁhanātha, bearing images of both type nos. I and II, probably indicates the beginning of a preference for the *utkuṭikāsana* in making images of Lakulīśa. But the Madhukeśvara, which seems to have been earlier in date than the Siṁhanātha, shows that Lakulīśa in the *utkuṭikāsana* had already been introduced in the Kaliṅga country. Obviously under the influence of the tradition, represented by the Madhukeśvara, the Lakulīśa from the Mallikārjuna, another temple of the Kaliṅga region, exhibited the same sitting posture. So far as the date is concerned, the Mallikārjuna should not be placed far removed from the Siṁhanātha. It, therefore, seems likely that the introduction of the *utkuṭikāsana* as the sitting posture of Lakulīśa to coastal Orissa was the result of influence from Kaliṅga.

By endowing Lakulīśa with four hands an endeavour was made to deify the Pāśupata teacher. From the point of evolution, four-handed images of Lakulīśa should be placed later than those with two hands. The evidence of the Śiśireśvara indicates that there was a period of over-lapping when both the two-handed and the four-handed varieties were produced side by side. As a matter of fact, the devising of the four-handed image of Lakulīśa never completely stopped the production of the two-handed type.

Dvārapālas : Figures of door-keepers flanking the entrance of the *baḍa deula* and that of the *mukhaśālā* are of two types. The one standing on the right side of the door is always of a benign nature (Fig. no. 17). The door-keeper on the left exhibiting protruding fangs displays his fearful character (Fig. nos. 18 & 19). Panigrahi identifies them respectively with Caṇḍa and Pracaṇḍa.[27] The basis for this identification, however, has not been mentioned. Alice Boner, on the authority of the *Śilpaprakāśa*, calls them Bhṛkuṭi Bhairava and Nandikeśvara Bhairava.[28] But the authenticity of the *Śilpaprakāśa* is not beyond doubt. Moreover Bhairava being a form of Śiva cannot be reduced to the status of a *dvārapāla*. For the same reason the suggestion of Donaldson[29] that the benign figure on the right side of the door represents Mahākāla, the benevolent aspect of Śiva, and

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 28.
28. *Śilpaprakāśa,* ed. Alice Boner and Sadasiva Rath Sarma, Leiden, 1966, p. 27.
29. T. Donaldson, 'Doorframes on the earliest Orissan Temples,' *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 212.

the fearful figure on the left side of the door is a Bhaīrava (Nandī), i.e. the frightening aspect of Śiva, is not quite convincing. The absence of the *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature from all the *dvārapāla* figures also goes against their identification with Śiva. For the purpose of reference, the door-keepers on the right and the left of the door may be mentioned as *saumya dvārapāla* and *ugra dvārapāla* respectively.

The *dvārapāla* figures are usually represented with four hands though two-handed examples are not unknown. In some instances, *ugra dvāra-pāla* alone is endowed with two hands. The *dvārapāla* with a peaceful countenance distinguishes himself from his counterpart with a terrible appearance by wearing a *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear. But both the *dvārapālas* of the Bhṛṅgeśvara exhibit *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear. Their attributes, however, are not the same or disposed in a similar way in every image. On the basis of this difference the *dvārapāla* images have been classified into the following types :

Saumya Dvārapāla (two-handed variety)

Type	Temple	Right hand	Left hand
I	Lakṣmaṇeśvara	akimbo	trident
II	Siṃhanātha (additional doorkeeper in a niche on the right of the doorcase of the *mukhaśālā*)	*varada* with a lotus mark on the palm.	trident

Saumya Dvārapālā (four-handed variety)

Type	Temple	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
I	Bharateśvara	flower	rosary	trident	lower hem of the garment.
Ia	Paraśurāmeśvara (western and southern gates of the *mukhaśālā*)	rosary	flower	trident	lower hem of the garment.
II	Śiśireśvara	rosary	citron	damaged	trident
III	Siṃhanātha	*varada*	rosary	trident	damaged
IV	Somanātha	rosary	trident	flower	damaged
V	Tāleśvara	flower	citron	rosary	trident
VI	Svarṇajāleśvara	trident	damaged	damaged	damaged

Type	Temple	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
VII	Śatrughneśvara	flower	resting on the prongs of the trident issuing from the *triśūla-puruṣa*.	damaged	damaged
VIII	Uttareśvara	indistinct	indistinct	snake(?)	lower hem of the garment.
IX	Paramaguru-family temple	damaged	citron	damaged	trident
X	Bhṛṅgeśvara	trident	citron	rosary	akimbo
XI	Svapneśvara	rosary	citron	trident	akimbo

Ugra Dvārapāla (two-handed variety)

Type	Temple	Right hand	Left hand
I	Lakṣmaṇeśvara	trident	*varada*
II	Siṁhanātha (additional doorkeeper with the face of a lion in a niche on the left of the doorcase of the *mukhaśālā*)	*varada*	trident
III	Paraśurāmeśvara (western gate of the *mukhaśālā*)	flower	trident
IV (?)	Paramaguru-family temple	damaged	trident

Ugra Dvārapāla (four-handed variety)

Type	Temple	u. r.	l. r.	u. l.	l. l.
I	Bharateśvara	lotus	rosary	trident	akimbo
II	Paraśurāmeśvara (southern gate of the *mukhaśālā*)	rosary	lower hem of the garment.	trident	flower
III	Siṁhanātha	rosary	damaged	trident	indistinct
IV	Somanātha	indistinct	*varada*	trident	indistinct
V	Svarṇajāleśvara	damaged	lower hem the garment.	flower	trident

Ugra Dvārapāla (four-handed variety)

Type	Temple	u.r.	l.r.	u.l.	l.l.
VI	Śatrughneśvara	trident	citron	rosary	resting on attendant.
VII	Uttareśvara	snake (?)	rosary (elbow resting on the prongs of the trident).	flower	indistinct
VIII	Bhṛṅgeśvara	rosary	indistinct	trident	akimbo
IX	Svapneśvara	rosary	citron	trident	akimbo

C. Narrative Panels

In some instances scenes from the mythology of Śiva have been illustrated in a narrative fashion. Thus panels depicting the marriage scene of Śiva and Pārvatī are found on the Bharateśvara, the Svarṇa-jāleśvara and the Paraśurameśvara. The story of the *Kirātārjunīya* is similarly narrated by relief panels on the Svarṇajāleśvara and the Śiśireśvara.

The two *Śiva-vivāha* panels from the Paraśurameśvara and the Svarṇajāleśvara are identical in composition. Of these two, the panel from the Paraśurameśvara is better preserved. It shows Śiva and Pārvatī standing in the centre with flaming Agni, kneeling Brahmā and standing Sūrya on the right. Below Agni is carved a miniature figure of Gaṇeśa. Among the figures on the left, one is Viṣṇu, who holds a vase with two principal hands and a conch-shell and a club with the other two hands. A panel on the northern wall of the Bharateśvara depicts the marriage procession of Śiva. At the tail-end of the procession, Śiva rides on his bull-mount. Marching in front of him are Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Agni, Nārada and a few Saivite figures. The actual marriage-scene was probably depicted on the southern wall of this temple.[30] But the panel is very much mutilated leaving behind only one or two figures.

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30. See Panigrahi, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

The *Kirātārjunīya* panels from the Śiśireśvara and the Svarṇa-jāleśvara depict the fight between Arjuna and Śiva in the guise of a Kirāta. The boar, which was the bone of contention, is displayed in both the panels which further show Arjuna's final submission to Śiva.

4. CONCLUSION

The present survey, which takes into account Śaiva images alone from those embellishing temple-walls in Orissa, gives only a partial picture of the way an Orissan temple was adorned. At the same time, certain facts emerging from this survey may be of some value in a study of Orissan temples. An attempt, therefore, has been made below to summarise the findings of a scrutiny of the Śaiva images on Orissan temples dedicated to Śiva and dated from c. 7th to c. 9th century A.D.

(i) In adorning subsidiary niches on the *jāṅgha*, the general practice was to pick up Śaiva images alone.[31]

(ii) Among the images selected for the subsidiary niches on the *jāṅgha*, Ekapāda was most popular. His usual place of occurrence was a niche on the northern side of the temple.

(iii) Hari-Hara, Ardhanārīśvara and Gaṅgādhara stood in popula-larity next to Ekapāda. Unlike the latter, however, they do not occur in any fixed side of the temple.

(iv) It was customary to carve a Natarāja image on the *sukanāsa* of the temple.

(v) To depict Lakulīśa on the *gaṇḍi* was a common but not a universally followed practice.

(vi) *Dvārapāla* figures flanking the doorway of the temple should be of two types. The one on the right of the entrance should have a peaceful form and the other on the left should be terrible in appearance.

(vii) It was an exception rather than a rule to have a Śaiva image as *lalāṭavimba* of the *Lakṣmīdvāra*.

31. A *jāṅgha* niche on the northern side of the Bhṛṅgeśvara accommodates a standing female figure instead of a Śaiva image. In another niche on the same side of this temple, the haloed couple standing side by side may be Umā and Maheśvara. The occurrence of Ganeśa and Kārttika in the two subsidiary niches on *jāṅgha* on the southern side of the Siṁhanātha is inexplicable unless these two images found their way to their present position through one of the later restorations of which the temple bear evidence.

(viii) For embellishing *mukhaśālā* walls, the images selected vary from temple to temple. It suggests that the *śilpīs* followed no common convention in their selection of images for *mukhaśālā* walls.

(ix) *Ūrdhvaliṅga* feature characterises most of the images of Śiva including those of Naṭarāja. Even such syncretic icons like Hari-Hara and Ardhanārīśvara display this feature.

(x) The presence of Naṭarāja images with four, eight and ten hands on the same temple (e.g. Paraśurāmeśvara) indicates that the dating of a temple should not be determined on the basis of the number of hands of the dancing Śiva carved on it.

(xi) Images of the same type need not have identical or identically disposed attributes. However, image-maker's choice of attributes for icons of Śiva excepting those of Naṭarāja, Gajaha-Andhakavadha and and Vīṇādhara Śiva was confined to trident, cup, citron, battle-axe, pot, snake and rosary.

(xii) While the early practice in the lower Mahānadī valley was to depict Lakulīśa in *padmāsana*, in Kaliṅga, comprising roughly north-eastern Andhra Pradesh and its neighbouring tracts in Orissa, images of the Śaiva saint in *padmāsana* and *utkuṭikāsana* were simultaneously produced. *Utkuṭikāsana* as the sitting posture of Lakulīśa seems to have been introduced in the lower Mahānadī valley as a result of influence from Kaliṅga.

(xiii) Snake as an attribute is common to all Ekapādamūrtis of Kaliṅga.[32] But it is absent from the attributes of these images in the lower Mahānadī valley.

xiv) In Kaliṅga the trident is fitted to a short handle. In the lower Mahānadī valley it is fixed on a long shaft.

xv) Certain iconographic peculiarities mentioned above suggest that the artists of Kaliṅga followed a tradition which was not completely identical with what the *śilpīs* of the lower Mahānadī valley had developed. It remains to be seen whether this indication of the existence of at least two sub-schools in the Orissan order of temple-style is strengthened by other features of the temples of these two regions.

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32. Ekapāda images not only from the two Paikapada temples but also from five other temples of Kaliṅga, viz. Madhukeśvara, Someśvara, Divyeśvara and two shrines at Jayati, display a snake as one of their attributes.

APPENDIX

SOME OF THE IMAGES ON THE *BĀDA*

Key :   N=northern side of the *bāda* ; S=southern side of the
bāda ; E=eastern side of the *bāda* ; W=western side of the
bāda ; — = presence or absence of the image cannot be
determined for the niches are either empty or damaged.

Temple	Ardha-nārīśvara	Hari-Hari	Gaṅgādhara	Ekapāda	Lakulīśa
Bharateśvara	S	W	—	—	—
Śiśireśvara	S	S	W	W	absent
Mārkaṇḍeśvara	N	S	W	N	—
Siṁhanātha	W	S	—	N	—
Somanātha	N	N	—	E	—
Bhṛṅgeśvara	S	W	W	absent	S
Tāleśvara	—	—	—	N	—
Divyeśvara	—	W	S	N	—
Durgā temple(Jayati)	—	W	—	N	S
Śiva temple (Jayati)	W	W	S	N	S
Someśvara	E	E	S	N	S
Pātāleśvara (*mukhaśālā*)	absent	W	N	N	absent
Mallikārjuna (*mukhaśālā*)	N	absent	S	N	N
Madhukeśvara (*mukhaśālā*)	S	N	S	N	absent

GLOSSARY

abhaya :   hand posture in which the palm is turned to the front with
fingers raised upward.

āsana :   sitting stance.

āyudha :   emblem, weapon.

bāda :   wall.

bada deula :   principal sanctuary.

baraṇda :   set of mouldings marking the end of *bāḍā* (in the early temples,
it consisted of a recessed frieze between two mouldings).

bhūmi :   horizontal stage of the *gaṇḍi*.

caitya-window motif :   stylised design originating from the arched window of the *caitya*-hall.

cinmudrā :   hand posture in which tips of the thumb and the forefinger are made to touch each other, so as to form a circle.   Usually, the palm of the hand is made to face the front.

ḍamaru :   two-sided miniature drum with a narrow waist.

dharmacakrapravartana-mudrā : hand posture combining *jñāna* and *vyā-khyāna mudrās*.

dvārapāla :   door-keeper.

gadā :   club.

gajahasta :   hand pose showing arm thrown forward, generally across the body, like the trunk of an elephant.

gaṇḍi :   superstructure.

jāṅgha :   section of the *bāḍa* between the *pābhāga* and the *baraṇḍa*.

jñānamudrā :   hand posture in which tips of the middle finger and the thumb are joined together and held near the heart, with the palm turned towards the heart.

kanika :   corner segment of a temple.

kāṇṭi :   throat ; recess between mouldings

khaṭvāṅga :   staff with a skull fixed on it.

lakṣmīdvāra :   principal gate of a temple.

lakṣmīpāṭa :   door-lintel with a divine figure, usually *gajalakṣmī*, carved on it.

lalāṭavimba :   crest-figure of the doorframe of a temple.

lalitāsana :   sitting mode in which one leg, usually the left, is tucked upon the seat, while the right one dangles down it.

mudrā :   posture of hand.

mukhaśālā :   forward hall of a temple.

padmāsana :   sitting posture in which the two legs are kept crossed so that the feet are brought to rest on the thighs.

paga :   same as *ratha*.

parivāra-devatā :   member of the family of a deity.

pābhāga :   lowermost part of the *bāḍa*, marked by a set of mouldings.

rāhā :   projected central segment of a temple.

ratha, rathaka :   segments produced upon the face of a temple by subject-ing part of it to one or more projections ; *tri-*, temple having three *rathas*, viz., projected *rāhā* in the middle and two stepped-back *kanikas* at the flanks.

sarpakuṇḍala :   snake as ear-ring.

sthāna :   stance.

sthānaka :   standing stance.

svastikaprasṛta :   standing pesture in which two legs are kept apart from each other, i.e. without touching each other.

tri-ratha :   s. v. *ratha*

ūrdhva liṅga :   *penis erectus.*

utkuṭikāsana :   sitting posture in which legs are crossed with heels kept close to the bottom and knees raised above the seat.

vaddhapadmāsana :   same as *padmāsana.*

vajra :   emblem usually having a trident fitted to either end of a short handle.

varada :   hand posture showing the palm turned to the front and fingers extended downward.

vīṇā :   musical instrument with strings.

vyākhyānamudrā :   same as *cinmudrā.*

yogapaṭṭa :   cloth band tied round the knees,

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

ICONOGRAPHICAL NOTES

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

I

In the early part of 1979 I visited the Mohant Ghasidass Memorial Museum at Raipur.[1] There I discovered, among other objects, a stone image of Andhakāsuravadha-mūrti (fig. 1), one Naṭarāja (fig. 2) and two Tripurāntaka-mūrtis (fig. 3, *a* and *b*) of Śiva. All of them have been recently found at Ghatiyari in the Rajanandangaon district of Madhya Pradesh. Iconographically the Andhakāsura and the Tripurāntaka reliefs are interesting. All of them are contemporaneous and carved in the same material and perhaps by the same sculptor. Of the two identical reliefs of Tripurāntaka, the well-preserved one measures 56 centimeters in height and 43 centimetres in breadth. The god has been depicted as riding on a chariot drawn by bulls and killing one of the three Asuras. He is eight-armed with bow and arrow in the main pair, other attributes being *khaṭvāṅga, khaḍga, kheṭaka* etc. Two rare features of this relief lie in the depiction of the Asura and the chariot drawn by bulls instead of horses. The other sculpture of Tripurāntaka measures 56 cm. in height and 42.5 cm. in breadth.

Another rare and interesting image now on view in the MGM Museum shows Pārvatī engaged in meditation. In this tenth-century lithic relief the goddess is seated in *padmāsana*. She is four-armed, displaying *varada* in the lower right and a citron in the lower left, the upper hands being broken. Apart from a garland, the ends of which are

visible on the pedestal, she wears sparse ornaments and a *jaṭā* on her head, which are in keeping with her meditative action.

II

I came across a number of Brahmanical images at Sambalpur, both in the extant temples and in the University Museum. The most popular and iconically exotic deity of the area is Samalāi, the presiding deity of Sambalpur.[2] Apart from her shrine at the Sambalpur town, she is enshrined in an architecturally identical temple at Barpali. The image of Samalāi is a large block of stone with a projection in the middle and with consequent depressions on both sides ; besides there is a narrow groove below it which is regarded as the mouth. When the depressions are covered with beaten gold leaf, they appear to represent the eyes and the whole object assumes the face of a female deity. There is every reason to believe that the goddess Samaleśvarī was originally a non-Aryan deity and was later absorbed into the Brahmanical pantheon.[3] The Sanskritization (to use the expression of M. N. Srinivas) of Samalāi appears to have been the result of the annexation of the Sambalpur territory by the Chauhan king Balarāma Deva[4] in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, who accepted her as his family goddess, apparently to win over her devotees of the locality.

The other prominent goddess of the Sambalpur region is Paṭaneśvarī, originally the tutelary goddess of the Chauhan rulers. Of the three temples of Paṭaneśvarī, located at Sambalpur, Patnagarh and Bolangir, that of Patnagarh is 'the earliest. The shrine at Sambalpur was erected

2. The name *Samaleśvarī* might have been derived from *Sambalpur*. Samlāi is the local form of the name of the deity.
3. Samaleśvari is basically a village goddess. She is the tutelary deity of some of the South Orissan villages. The non-Aryan trait of her worship may be recognized in the sacrifice of a cock.
4. According to the local tradition, which I have collected through the courtesy of Dr. Tushar Kanti Sen, M. B. B. S. of Sambalpur, King Balarama Deva, saw a hare chasing some dogs while he was encamping on the bank of the Mahānadī. This strange phenomenon made him wonder-struck. In the following night he saw in dream a goddess who declared herself as Lankeśvarī and asked Balarāma Deva to shift her image from Gomadaha (modern Mundalia Muhan near the junction of the Mahanadi and a small water-reservoir) to the present site and to install her image there. The king acted accordingly with the help of the family priest whom he brought from Patnagarh. The priest was a Yajurvedīya Kshatriya.

by king Balarāma Deva, while the Bolangir temple is of comparatively recent construction. At Sambalpur Paṭaneśvarī is the same as Kālī, while at Patnagarh she is represented as four-handed Mahishamardinī.[5]

Among the divine images encountered on the walls of the temples of the town of Sambalpur, particularly the Baḍa Jagannātha shrine, some are quite interesting and express a local iconoplastic idiom. Of these significant temple-reliefs mention may be made of a six-headed Kārttikeya, a ten-armed Naṭarāja, a relief of Śiva with a *mṛga* and *paraśu*, and four-handed image of Mahishamardinī (fig. 4). The figure of four-handed Kārttikeya (fig. 5) is carved on the wall of the sventeenth-century Someśvara temple on the road overlooking the Mahanadi. This represents the Shaṇmukha (six-headed) aspect of the deity which is well-known from art and literature and the earliest plastic instance of which is provided by the Yaudheya coins of the second-third century A.D. The Yaudheya coins usually portray the heads in two rows of three each (on some five heads around the central one), while the reliefs from the ninth century onwards show five heads (the sixth invisible), all the heads clustering round the central one with an inclination to the back.[6] In the present example all these heads are rather unusually arranged in one single row with an emphasis on horizontality.

The figure of the ten-headed Naṭarāja (fig. 6) can be seen on the exterior wall of the seventeenth-century Gopāljī temple near its entrance ; in it the god displays the *varada*, a *ḍamaru*, a *sarpa*, a *paraśu*, a *triśūla* etc. ; he is flanked by Vishṇu and Brahmā, both appreciatively taking part in the dance performance of the god. This image is somewhat unique inasmuch as it shows Śiva dancing on Apasmārapurusha, which is absent in north Indian examples ; besides, the Apasmārapurusha is different from its South Indian counterpart both in appearance as well as in its manner of lying prostrate under the feet of the god. And in this respect the piece represents a blend of the iconographic norms of the North and the South.

5. The *dhyāna* of Paṭaneśvari collected from the priest through the courtesy of Dr. Tushar Kanti Sen, is : *Dhyāyet suvarṇa-varṇābhāṁ trinetrāṁ cāruhāsinīm/ sarvalakshana-samyuktāmardhendu-kṛitaśekharāṁ/ ehaturbhujāṁ śaṁkhacakra-dharāṁ valasvarupinīṁ udyattriśūlanirbhinnamahishāṁ siṁhavāhinīṁ/ muktā-dāma-lasatkaṇṭhāṁ munibhihstuti-pāṭhakaiḥ/ siddhaiḥdevaganairjusṭāṁ kumārī-bhiśca sevitāṁ/ sarvakāmamaya-pradāṁ varadāṁ bhaktavatsalām//*

6. For the representations and descriptions thereof, see Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India : A Numismatic Approach* (1974), pp. 219-20, 300-2, pls. VI-VIII, CN. 112, 113 113 b-c, 116, 117 etc.

The similar trend is discernible in an effigy of Śiva carved on the wall near the entrance of the sanctum cella of the same shrine ; here Śiva holds a *mṛga* and and a *paraśu* in his hands and these are the two never-failing attributes of the four-handed god in South Indian repertoire.

Another unique image, met with on the western exterior wall of the Baḍa Jagannātha shrine in the above-noted Gopāljī temple-complex represents Vishṇu in a composite form ; the figure consists of his four Avatāra aspects, viz., Vāmana, Paraśurāma, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, showing the attributes characteristic of each of them ; thus it displays a *kuṇḍikā* (of Vāmana), a *parāśu* (of Paraśurāma), a *muralī* (of Krishṇa) and a bow and arrow (of Rāma). Undoubtedly this is a hitherto unknown type of composite image, the parallel of which has been found nowhere in India.

The Mahisamardinī figure (fig. 4) on the wall of the same shrine is four-armed, holding a *cakra* and a *śankha* in her upper right and left hands and piercing the trident into the heart of Mahiṣāsura. The artist of this seventeenth-century sculpture seems to have followed the norm which is discernible in a few earlier Orissan examples, such as the one worshiped inside a ninth-century brick temple now practically in ruins in the village Motia, P. S. Govindapur, Block Nialia, Puri district. The Motia and the Gopalji specimens, though separated by about seven centuries, bear a strong family likeness, the only noticeable difference being in the positions of the lion and the Asura : in the former the lion is shown on the left (rather unusual), while that in the latter on the right, and correspondingly the position of the demon has been changed.

The Museum set up by the History department of the Sambalpur University possesses, among other objects, a commendable stone image (182 cms X 55 cms X 26 cms) most probably of Revantạ of about the eleventh century. This hails from Bolangir. The distinctiveness of this piece lies not only in its treatment which is frontal unlike that in the examples found elsewhere (e.g., the Ghatnagar piece, now in the V.R.S. Museum, Rajshahi, Bangladesh), but also in the aesthetic vision of the artist who carved it ; the figure appears to be more of tribal huntsman than of a divinity. It deserves to be noted here that images of Revanta are very rare in Orissa and the present one is perhaps the third example found in the State.

Another noteworthy sculpture of the said Museum is that of a two-armed Bhairava (55 cm. X 28 cm. 21 cm.) recovered from Chauduar in the Cuttack district ; this twelfth-century statue shows the deity with a *vajra* and a *pānapātra* in his hands and a *khaṭvāṅga* resting on his left shoulder ;

while the workmanship of this relief is on the whole competent, it presents
a somewhat rare variety on -account of the minimum number of arms ;
Bhairava, found in other parts of India as well as in Orissa, are usually
endowed with four or more than four hands. The Museum also possesses
images of Gaṇeśa, Mahiṣamardinī and Nāgī, but their preservation is
indifferent.

<div align="center">III</div>

The site of Bhuvaneswar is rich in respect of Brahmanical icons,
which are mostly encountered on the walls of numerous local temples.
Besides, the State Museum possesses several such specimens which have
come not only from Bhuvaneswar, but also from Jajpur, Cuttack, Puri
and elswhere. K. C. Panigrahi has noticed and / or discussed many of
them in his *Archaeological Remains of Bhuvaneswar* (1961). The most
important addition to the Museum since the time of the publication of
Panigrahi's book is a stone image of Naṭarāja discovered at Asanpat in
the district of Keonjhar in Orissa (fig. 3). Below this image is a thirteen-
line Brāhmī inscription of one Śatrubhañja of about late fifth or early
sixth century and like the relief the epigraph is also important inasmuch as
it discloses the existence of kings entitled *Bhañja* during this period.[7] The
image portrays the eight-armed and third-eyed Śiva in *tāṇḍava* dance ;
he is *ūrdhvaliṅga* and carries a *vīṇā* in the main pair ; of his remaining
hands the uppermost ones hold a *sarpa* which serves as his canopy ; the
right hands exhibit an *akṣamālā* and a *ḍamaru* and the left ones *varada-
mudrā* and a *triśūla* ; the god is flanked by a devotee and Nandi, the
bull-mount, the latter enthusiastically looking at him (*devatāvīkshaṇa-
tatparaḥ* of the *Matsya-Purāṇa* description of Naṭarāja). Of appreciative
workmanship the Asanpat Naṭarāja is the oldest of all such specimens found
in Orissa so far and has a rightful claim to be classed with the well-known
contemporary Naṭarāja figures of Badami and Ellora. Iconographically,
it illustrates the combination of the Vīṇādhara and Naṭeśa concepts
of Śiva.

The State Museum at Bhuvaneswar also preserves a few images of
Gopīnātha or Kṛṣṇa without Rādhā. They are recovered from Dhar-
masala near Cuttak. In them the god stands in *tribhaṅga* pose under a
kadamba tree playing on his flute and the figures of ariels, cows, calves

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7. A Das who discovered it wrongly ascribes it to the fourth century, see *Orissa
   Historical Research Journal*, XIII, No. 2, 1965, pp. 1, 4.

gopinīs etc., are carved on the stela. The worship of Kṛṣṇa in his Gopīnātha form is widespread in the littoral area of Orissa from Baleswar to Puri. According to tradition the worship of Gopīnātha-Kṛṣṇa was introduced by king Narasiṁha (1238-64), who set up an image of the god at Remuna. This tradition is supported by the inscriptional and plastic evidence. Thus the pedestal inscription of an image in the State Museum and the Nagari copper-plate of king Anaṅgabhīmadeva III (1229), contain the expression *Abhinava-Vārāṇasī*, and further another inscription states that a Gopīnātha image was installed during the reign of Narasiṁha II (1282)[8]. In this context mention may be made of a well-carved image of Kṛṣṇa playing on his *muralī*, met with on the exterior wall of the Rājarāṇī temple, which may be described as the prototype of Gopīnātha-Kṛṣṇa.

Bhuvaneswar and other old sites of Orissa abound in Naṭarāja images, most of which belong to the usual type found in different parts of northern India and Deccan. But the interesting iconic type which has been encountered portrays the god dancing on his bull-mount. An example of this type may be seen on the northern wall of the portal of the Pāpanāśini temple erected during the reign of Kapilendradeva (1436-67). Another such figure (fig.4) may be noticed on the Śiva temple of the Amaṅgaı sand-hill, near the village Kandarpur in the Atgarh subdivision in the Bolangir district ; chronologically it is not far removed from the Pāpanāśini relief. As to the Naṭarāja-on-bull type we have elsewhere remarked that it developed and evolved in what is now known as Bangladesh, since a number of similar images of earlier dates have been found there.[9] And it is from this region that the type went to Assam, Tripura and Orissa.[10]

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8   *South Indian Inscriptions*, X, no 718.

9.   I have brought out this point in my papers entitled 'Eastern Indian School of Brahmanical Iconography' and 'An Iconographical Approach to the Sources of History of Ancient Assam' ; the first is to appear in the *Proceedings of the Seminar on Pala-Sena Art* to be published by the Calcutta University ; the second was presented in the Annual conference of Institute of Historical Studies held under the auspices of the Dibrugarh University in 1978 and later published in *Sources of Indian History*, Vol. III, by the Institute, Calcutta, 1980.

10.   Two such images are reported from Assam, both in the State Museum at Gauhati. One of them is carved in a medallion and is assignable to the early twelfth century ; the other, a high relief and colossal in size, has recently been recovered from the Ambari area of the Gauhati town, and is datable to the fouiteenth century. The Tripura example, found at Khowai, was brought to my notice by Dr. Ratna Das, the Curator of the Government Museum,

GLOSSARY

cakra	Discus
ḍamaru	Kettle-drum, small with a narrow waist
gopinī	Cow-herdess
jaṭā	Matted hair
kadamba	A kind of tree
khaḍga	Sword
khaṭvāṅga	A club made up of the bone of the fore-arm or the leg, surmounted by a human skull through its foramen
kheṭaka	Shield
kuṇḍikā	Water-pot
mṛga	Deer
muralī	Flute
padmāsana	Lotus-seat
paraśu	Axe
pānapātra	Wine-cup
śaṅkha	Conch-shell
sarpa	Serpent
tāṇḍava	A variety of dance
tribhaṅga	A standing pose with two bends in the body
triśūla	Trident
urdhvaliṅga	Penis erect, indicative of control of sexual desire, an iconographic feature of Śiva.
varadā	Boon-giving hand-pose showing the hand held down with palm outwards
vajra	Thunderbolt.

Agartala. For the Papanasini relief, see K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhuvaneswar*, fig. 121 ; and also C. Sivaramamurti, *Naṭarāja* (New Delhi 174). fig. 167. Sivaramamurti wrongly dates it to the eleventh century, *loc cit.*

For the Bengal images, see *History of Bengal*, ed., R. C. Majumdar, (Dacca, 1943), fig. 23 ; N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1429, reprint, Delhi, 1972), pls. XLII-XLV. One of these examples, hailing from Bharella, now in the Comilla district of Bangladesh, bears an inscription of the late tenth or early eleventh in which the god has been designated as *Narttesvara*.

Photographs of the Andhakāsuravadha, Tripurāntaka and Naṭarāja- mūrtis of Śiva of the collection of the MGM Museum, Raipur, have been reproduced here through the courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Madhya Pradesh.

THE DEPICTION OF ROYAL PERSONAGES ON GUPTA GOLD COINS

CHHANDA MUKHERJI

The Gupta monarchs, who ushered in the golden age of India, issued an extensive gold coinage. Their gold issues are marked by remarkable originality and vitality. It is, of course true that Gupta gold coins, which formed the first regular national coinage in the yellow metal, were initially under the influence of the preceding coins of the Kushāṇa Kings, whose imperial status they inherited. But very soon the Gupta mint artists overcame the Kushāṇa influence by asserting their own traditional artistic impulse. While doing so, the artists of the Gupta mints brought about a new orientation in the art of coin making.

The obverse of Gupta gold coin depicts the issuing king in various postures and in different actions. He is shown as standing or seated. He is also depicted as riding an animal—a horse or an elephant. Then we see some action pictures on Gupta gold issues, where the king is shown in action—mainly as slaying a big game like the tiger, lion or even rhinoceros. Besides being shown alone, the king is sometimes depicted in association with one or more persons. However, seated or standing, he holds certain objects—some religious attributes, weapons, or even a musical instrument.

I

The King as standing

It has been mentioned earlier that on the obverse of the Gupta gold coins we see the royal effigies in a variety of postures as well as in a variety of actions. However, the figures of the kings on the obverse of the Standard types[1] of Samudragupta (Fig.No. 1), of Chandragupta II,[1a] the Kācha type[2] and even the Swordsman type[3] of Kumāragupta are depicted as standing and in the act of offering incense on altar with the

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1. Standard type of Samudragupta, BMC (GD), Pl I (1-17), Pl. II (1-4);
1a. Standard type of Chandragupta II, CGE, Pl. I (5). Some scholars suggest that this type was issued by a Scythian feudatory.
2. GGCBH, Pl. VI (11-15).
3. BMC (GD), Pl. XII (12, 15, 16, 17, 18);

right hand. On the Standard type the kings are shown as holding a
standard bound with fillet in the left hand and on left, behind the altar,
there is a fillet bound standard surmounted by a Garuḍa facing. While on
the Kācha type the monarch is shown as holding a fillet-bound standard
surmounted by a *cakra*. But on the Swordsman type, Kumāragupta holds
in his left hand a sword and his right hand is shown as outstretched
in front, while the Garuḍa standard remains beside him. However, on
the Peacock-type[4] the king feeds a peacock with the right hand while the
left hand is held behind the body.

So far as these types go, the Kushāṇa influence felt itself on those
of Samudragupta and Chandragupta, both in their dress, which consists
of the Kushāṇa coat and trousers, and in the attitude of offering incense
on the altar as on Kushāṇa issues. But on the Swordsman type of
Kumāragupta I the Kushāṇa coat and trousers were substituted by the
Indian waist-cloth, and the king, as on the coins of Samudragupta and
Chandragupta still offers incense on altar in the Kushāṇa fashion. The
peacock is fed in the Peacock type instead of offering incense on altar.

It is however, interesting to note that all these types have a religious
significance, though in a somewhat indirect way. While the Standard, the
Kācha and the Swordsman types show in one way or other the Garuḍa or
the Cakradhvaja, clear Vaishṇava insignia, the feeding of the peacock
by the king, on the Peacock type indicates Kumāragupta's devotion to
Kārttikeya, whose *vāhana* or mount is the peacock.

The artists depicted the king in stereotyped manner on the initial
issues of Samudragupta, but slowly and steadily they began to exhibit
their artistic skill in the matter of depicting the royal masters. The
king's figure gradually tended to cast off its initial clumsy stiffness and
assume a pleasing and supple flexibility.

On the Peacock type the Gupta mint artist exhibited his masterly
skill by depicting the king as feeding a peacock with a bunch of fruits
and standing in a sort of *tribhaṅga* posture with all his personal vigour
and regal dignity.

The Archer-types[5] of Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, Kumāra-
gupta I and Skandagupta depict the royal personages as standing in front,

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4. CGE, Pl. XIII (11-14).
5. Archer type of (i) Samudragupta, CGE, Pl. II (12-14) ; (ii) Chandragupta II,
    ibid, Pl. IV (6-15) ; (iii) Kumāragupta I *ibid*, Pl. IX (10-14), Pl. X (1-10) ; (iv)
    Skandagupta, *ibid*, Pl. XIV (9-11).

and holding the bow in the left hand.   However, so far as these types go, the Kushāna influence felt itself specially on the dress, for, in all cases the kings wear Kushāna coat and trousers.   On the earlier specimens of the Archer type of Samudragupta we see the king as offering incense on the altar, but very soon the Gupta artists overcame the foreign influence and rectified the Kings' non-Indian attitude of offering incense on the altar.   So on the later specimens we find the king as holding an arrow. After him all kings, viz., Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skanda- gupta have been depicted as holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right.   The characteristic Vaishnava insignia of the Garuda standard occurs in each case.

The artist of Samudragupta's mint initially failed to comprehend the spirit of the device ; he no doubt depicted the king as holding a bow in the left hand but in a mechanical way, and under Kushāna influence made him offer incense on the altar with the right hand. Soon enough he realised the incongruity of his depiction and corrected himself : the king was then shown as holding the bow in the left hand and arrow in the right as the situation demanded.

Again, the Battle-axe type[6] [Fig. No. 2] of Samudragupta depicts the king as standing to left, wearing a close fitting cap, coat and trousers (sometimes shorts), holding a battle-axe in left hand and resting the right hand on the waist.   A sword is seen hanging from the belt in some cases.   On left in front of the king we see a dwarf[6a] attendant looking up to the king.   And there is a crescent topped banner in front of the king. The king is generally shown in Kushāna coat and trousers and sometimes in simple Indian lower garments like *jangia* or shorts.   However, on this type the warrior-like attitude and dauntless bearing are depicted in a dignified and graceful manner.

II

The King on animal-back

On coins of the Horseman types[7] of Chandragupta II, Kumāra- gupta I and Skandagupta, the king is shown as riding the horse in various

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6. GGCBH, Pl. V (6-14).

6a. Cf. Kautilya I.21.1, Kautilya speaks of the dwarf for the security of the king in his third chamber.

7. Horseman type of (i) Chandragupta II, CGE, Pl. VII (11-15), (ii) Kumāra- gupta I, *ibid*, Pl XI (1-13) ; (iii) Skandagupta, *ibid*, Pl. XIV (15).

dresses holding various objects. Coins of Chandragupta II represent him as riding a caparisoned horse. The king is often depicted as bare-bodied but sometimes wearing a *dhoti* and a number of ornaments like the necklace, ear-rings and armlets. He is sometimes also shown as wielding a bow. On these coins Kumāragupta I is depicted usually as nimbate, and wearing a coat and trousers. In most cases however, Kumāragupta is shown as holding a bow in the right or the left hand, while the sword sometimes hangs by his side. On the Horseman type coins of Skandagupta we see the king as bare-headed, and riding on horse to left, without any weapons. So far as the above types are concerned, we may trace some vestige of foreign influence at least in the case of the king's dress. However, on these types the kings have been depicted full of energy and vitality.

Coins of the Elephant-rider[8] type [Fig. No. 3] of Kumāragupta I shows him as wearing a diadem, coat, waist-band, and usual jewellery and riding a caparisoned elephant, furiously marching to left. Kumāra-gupta I there holds a goad in his right hand, while the left hand rests on the waist. Behind the king, there is a seated attendant holding an umbrella over him.

The king on elephant's back occurs on the coins of Vima Kadphises[9] and Huviskha.[9a] But the motif of our present type, i.e., the king on elephant's back and accompanied by a dwarf is basically Indian.

III

The King as Hunter

Gupta gold coins often depict hunting scenes. That the Gupta monarchs often set out to kill big games like the lion, tiger or even rhinoceros is vouchsafed by the Tiger-slayer types[10] of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta, the Lion-slayer types[10a] of Chandragupta II and

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8. GGCBH, Pl. XXXI (1-3).

9. Vima Kadphises riding on Elephant, *Numismatic Supplement* Vol. XLIV. p. 7. M.F.C. Martin.

9a. Huvishka riding on Elephant, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in British Musem*, Pi. XXIX No. 2.

10. Tiger-slayer type of (i) Samudragupta, GGCBH, Pl. VI (9-10); (ii) Kumāra-gupta I, *ibid*, Pl. XXVII (1-15).

10a. Lion-slayer type of (i) Chandragupta II, BMC (GD), Pl. VIII (11-17); (ii) Kumāragupta I, *ibid*, Pl. XIV (1-17), Pl. XV (1-4).

Kumāragupta I, the Elephant rider-Lion Slayer,[11] and the Horse rider-Rhinoceros-slayer types[12] [Fig. No. 4] of Kumāragupta I.

The Tiger-slayer types of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I show the king as standing with bow in right hand while with the left hand he is drawing the string and the arrow for killing a tiger already trampled by himself. Both the kings appear in short *dhoti* and sometimes in waist cloth. On coins of both the kings however, there is a crescent topped banner beside the royal hunter.

On the lion in the Lion-slayer type of Chandragupta II we see the king as wearing a waist cloth or *jangiya*, and sometimes also a coat and holding a bow in the left hand and drawing the string by the right hand to shoot at a lion in his front. On the Lion-slayer type of Kumaragupta I the king is shown as standing unlike his father, with a bow held in the right and the left hand holding the string of it. Kumāragupta is, however, seen on his coins as wearing buttoned coat with short sleeves and sometimes shorts.

The Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type depicts the bare-headed king as wearing a coat and waist-band, riding a caparisoned elephant advancing furiously to right, raising with his right hand a dagger just to strike the beast. The Horse-rider-Rhinoceros-slayer type depicts the king, riding on a caparisoned horse to right, wearing buttoned coat, waist- band and trousers, leaning forward and attacking a rhinoceros with the sword in the right hand, while the horse raises its head up.

It would appear that the Tiger-slayer types of both Samudragupta and Kumāragupta I are absolutely free from foreign influence ; the royal effigies have been depicted in purely Indian dress. But the lion-slayer types of Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I, Elephant rider-Lion-slayer type and Horse-rider-Rhinoceros slayer type of Kumāragupta I reveal some foreign influence at least in the matter of dress of the royal personages. They have been depicted in Kushāṇa coat and trousers. So far as these action type coins are concerned, we see that the kings appear full of energy and vitality. Their slim, muscular and robust bodies have been engraved in a beautiful manner.

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11. GGCBH, Pl. XXX (1-4).
12. CGE, Pl. XIII (3-6). The Rhinoceros-slayer type coins of Kumāragupta may have same political undertone. cf. Dr. B. N. Mukherjee's article, IHQ, vol. XXXI, 1955, pp. 175 ff.

IV

The King as seated

The Lyrist type[13] [Fig. No. 5] of Samudragupta depicts the king as wearing *dhoti*, seated cross-legged to left on a cushioned couch and playing a lute which rests on his lap. But the Lyrist type of Kumāragupta shows the king as seated on a straight-backed couch, the right leg folded on the couch and the left leg placed over the right one hangs from the couch. Again the King's right hand is on the lute resting on his lap. The Couch type[14] of Chandragupta II bears the *dhoti*-clad king as seated three-fourths to left on a couch, holding some object, probably a flower in his uplifted right hand, the left hand resting on the edge of the couch. So far as these types go, they show no foreign influence, at least on their obverse devices. The kings wear Indian dress consisting of *dhoti*. In each case the kings' body and the gesture of his hand have been engraved in a very graceful and natural manner.[14a]

V

The King with other persons

There are some Gupta types which depict the king accompanied by one or more persons. The Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type[15] shows the king standing to left, wearing trousers and close-fitting tail coat. He holds in the left hand a crescent topped standard adorned with fillets and with his right hand he offers something to Kumāradevī. The King and-Queen type[16] of Kumāragupta I depicts him as wearing a coat and *dhoti*. The king's left hand is on the hilt of the sword, at his waist and he offers with his bent up right hand, what appears to be a bunch of flowers to the queen, standing to right and facing him. However the artistic merit of the Chandragupta-Kumaradevī type is not very high. We see the king as wearing trousers and close-fitting tail coat in the Kushāṇa fashion and the device is not well executed.

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13. Lyrist type of Samudragupta, BMC(GD), Pl. V (1-8) ; (ii) Kumāragupta I, CGE, Pl. XIV (5).
14. Couch type of Chandragupta II, BMC(GD), Pl. VI (8-9).
14a. GGCBH, P. I XIX.
15. Chandragupta-Kumāradevī type, CGE, Pl. (8-13).
16. King and Queen type of Kumāragupta I, GGCBH, Pl. XXXI (14).

The Chhatra types[17] of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta generally depict the kings as wearing *dhoti*. They are in the act of offering oblations on altar in their front with the right hand. Both Chandragupta and Skandagupta keep their left hands on the sword, but Kumāragupta rests his left hand on his left leg. In each case we see a dwarf behind the royal personage holding a parasol. The dress of the monarchs is purely Indian. But the depiction of the altar and the posture of the king as offering oblations upon it verily reminds us of the Kushāṇa influence. The type under study appears to put a special stress on the regal status of the issuers of the concerned gold coins by showing how they were treated in formal occasions.

The Chakravikrama type[18] of Chandragupta II [Fig. No. 6] shows the king as standing facing God Vishṇu, nimbate, bareheaded and wearing various jewellery, tunic and trousers. He extends his right hand to receive the divine gift, his left hand is placed on the hilt of a sword hanging by the left side. The humble submission of the king to God Vishṇu is fully-illustrated by this type. It is very curious that the Indian King while receiving *prasāda* from his patron-deity is depicted in foreign costume. However, the device has been executed in a pleasing manner. The artist has beautifully depicted the scene, in which the king with all his royal bearing is receiving the *prasāda* of God Vishṇu with due humility.

The Apratigha type[19] of Kumāragupta I bears the king as standing in the centre, wearing a *dhoti*, hands folded at the waist, a portuberance is shown on the head, or hair is tied in a knot. To the proper right there is a male figure and to the proper left there is a female figure, standing with the right hand bent up in the attitude of argumentation. The depiction of the curious scene perhaps indicates a problematic situation affecting the king.

The King and Lakshmī type[20] of Skandagupta depicts him as accompanied by Goddess Lakshmī. However, the king wears waist cloth and usual jewellery. Skandagupta's special attachment for Lakshmī is fully illustrated by this type.

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17. Chhatra type of (i) Chandragupta II, CGE, Pl.VIII (6-'5); (ii) Kumāragupta I, *ibid*, Pl. XIII (15); (iii) Skandagupta, GGCBH, Pl XXXI (15).
18. Chakravikrama type of Chandragupta II, GGCBH, Pl. XVIII (14).
19. Apratigha type of Kumaragupta I BMC(GD) Pl. XV (15).
20. King and Lakshmī type of Skandagupta BMC(GD) Pl. XIX (6-9).

The scene on this coin has been depicted in an artistic manner ; for the king's curious attitude to observe the object in the hand of the Goddess has been superbly delineated by the die-cutter.

The devices of the Gupta gold coins are generally depicted in a skillful manner. But the depiction of the royal personages in particular is often done with sublime grace, regal bearing and masculine beauty that is characteristic of the Gupta age. It is true that the Gupta artists were often influenced by their early Kushāṇa counterparts at the initial stage, but with the passing of time the Gupta numismatic art overcame the foreign influence and brought about a style of its own, so that all that the artists depicted on coins produced a pleasing effect.

INDOLOGICAL NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR

No. 26. *Asanapat Naṭarāja Image Inscription of Śatrubhañja*

Recently my attention was drawn to the photograph and transcript of an inscription appearing in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 1 ff. The article on the inscription, found at the village of Asanapat in the Keonjhar District of Orissa, is from the pen of the late Sri Aniruddha Das who has quoted the text of the record as read by Sri Satyanarayana Rajaguru. The inscription in thirteen lines, beautifully engraved under the representation of a gracefully fashioned figure of Naṭarāja Śiva on the stone slab, has been attributed to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Thus the image, under which the inscription is engraved on the same stele, has been indirectly assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. This is wrong while the published transcript and interpretation of the record are also full of errors.

The image of eight-armed Śiva Vīṇādhara, engaged in the Tāṇḍava dance, has *ūrdhva-liṅga* and *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, and his attendant Bhṛṅgin is seated cross-legged with folded hands on the god's lower right side and the other attendant Nandin (Bull) on his lower left side, probably dancing, with his face raised upwards in order to see the god's face. Thus the bull's mouth reaches the fingers of the extended second left arm of the god, which is in the *patākā-hasta* pose. The god plays on the lute with the two front hands (i. e., the main or first pair) while with the back pair he holds the head and tail parts of a snake above his head. The god's second and third right hands hold respectively the rosary and the kettle-drum and his third left hand holds the trident. The position of the god's legs, feet and knees resembles the dancing pose of Figures 41, 51, 73, etc., in the *Tāṇḍava-lakṣaṇam*,[1] which exhibits 108 dance poses as depicted on a Gopuram of the Chidambaram temple after Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The left foot of the dancing god flatly touches the ground, but the right foot touches it by the toes. There is no Apasmārapuruṣa. C. Sivaramamurti assigns the image to the 6th century A. D.[2] so that the inscription is ascribed by him indirectly to the same date. This seems to be correct.

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1 By B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu and P. Srinivasulu Naidu, Madras, 1936.
2 *Nataraj in Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 177, Fig. 14.

As regards the images of Dancing Śiva, called Naṭṭeśvara or Narteśvara in Bengal inscriptions and found in fairly large numbers in some areas of Bengal, N. K. Bhattasali says, "South India is particularly rich in the images of the Dancing Śiva. In Northern India, these images are scarcely met with. .....How Bengal, especially the present Dacca and Tippera Districts, came to share this peculiarity with Southern India is an interesting problem of history."[3] Although some local characteristics are exhibited by these Dancing Śiva images of early medieval Bengal, we had occasion to suggest that their discovery was one of the results of the migration of a considerable number of South Indians to Bengal during the age of the Pālas and the Senas.[4] The well-known Naṭaiāja form of Śiva developed in the :South during the Cola · period ;[5] but it has been said, "The South Indian Nṛtyamūrtis of Śiva at first showed a well-marked variety · which, however, came to bɜ merged in one outstanding type, the Śiva Naṭarāja......"[6] Considering the ·great influence of South Indian culture on Orissa,[7] it has to be investigated whether the Asanapat Naṭarāja has any similarity with any of the South Indian images of Dancing Śiva of the early period. According to Sivaramamurti, the Asanapat image is so developed in its iconography that there can be no doubt about the existence of an established earlier tradition.[8] The representation of the bull of this sculpture probably dancing with ūrdhva-mukha may have later developed into the upward-looking Dancing Bull of the Bengal sculptures.

Although the published photograph of the Asanapat inscription does not show all the letters clearly, the date of the inscription can be determined with the help of its palaeography, which is unlike other Orissan epigraphs in that the record uses the forms of the letters *l* and *h* found usually in East Indian inscriptions of a period from the fourth to the sixth century A. D.[9] However, from a glance at the writing, the Asanapat

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3   *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 110.

4   *Social Life in Ancient India*, ed. Sircar, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 115-16.

5   Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Hist. Ind. Indon. Art*, 1927, p. 127.

6   J. N. Banerjea in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. Majumdar, Bombay, 1956, p. 305.

7   Cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VI, p. 175.

8   *Loc. cit.*

9   Cf. the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 1ff. and Plate) and the Damodarpur plate of 543-44 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 141ff. and Plate). For an earlier Mathura inscription with the peculiarity, see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 518 (Bk. II, No. 42A).

epigraph looks earlier than dated Orissan records like the Sumandala
plates of 569 A. D.,[10] the Soro plate of 579 A. D.[11] and the Kanas plate
of 599 A. D.[12] Unfortunately, among the three grants, the one that is the
earliest in point of date is palaeographically later than the other two.
Thus the letter *y* retains its older tripartite form in the Soro and Kanas
plates, but has developed the later bipartite form in the Sumandala plates.
In the present inscription, *y* in *Yā(Ya)kṣeśvara* in line 8 looks on the
published illustration to be bipartite ; but in all other cases, its form is
tripartite, the left limb of which exhibits a curl on the left with opening on
the outer side. This peculiarity is noticed in the Soro plate among
Orissan epigraphs and in such other records as the Gunaighar plate
(507 A. D.),[13] Damodarpur plate (543-44 A. D.),[14] Faridpur and
Mallasarul plates (later half of the 6th century A. D.),[15] Dubi plates of
Bhāskaravarman (early years of the 7th century A. D.)[16] and the Bower
manuscripts.[17] Likewise the form of *s* has a late look only in one case in
line 3 before *teja*. The long curved *i*-sign in *bhikṣu* (line 10), *vijñāna* (line
12), *°m=iti* (line 13), etc., and the similarly long curved right arm of *ṇ* in
vyākaraṇa (line 11), *prakaraṇa* (line 12), etc., in the present epigraph consi-
dered together with the above facts appear to point to a date not earlier than
the earlier part of the 6th century A.D. This is probably supported by the
representation of the letter *b* occasionally by the sign for *v*. We know that *b*
was written by its own sign till the last quarter of the 5th century A. D.
when it began to be written in Eastern India sometimes by the *v* sign and
the indiscriminate use continued, in rare cases, till the early years of the 7th
century A. D.[18] when *b* came to be written by *v* only. The present
inscription writes *b* in *brahmacārī* (line 9), but *v* for *b* in *vrhaspa°* (line 7),
and this kind of indiscriminate use is noticed in Orissan records like the
Sumandala (lines 12, 13, 27) and Soro (lines 5, 11, 16) plates, though the
Kanas plate writes *b* by the sign for *v* in all cases.

10 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79ff.
11 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 197ff.
12 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329ff.
13 *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 532ff.
14 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 141ff.
15 *Ind. Ant*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 195ff. ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155ff.
16 *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287ff.
17 *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Imp. Ser., Vol. XXII ; *Ep Ind*, Vol. XXIII, p. 156.
18 Cf. inscriptions of Budhagupta's time (Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 334,
    text line 10, p 336, text line 1) ; Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol.
    XXX, pp. 287ff.)

The record begins with the following two stanzas (lines 1-3) in the
Āryā and *Āryāgīti* metres :—

Sa jayati narendra-candra(ḥ*) śrīmān=Nāg-ānvayo Raṇaślāghī (/*)
yena sa-pitur=ggotrasya ca kṛtā yug-ānt-ācalā kīrtti(ḥ*) /(//) 1
Sa jayati punar=eva Devaputra(ḥ*) samara-śateṣu(ṣv=) a-khaṇḍita-
ḥ(ta)-pratāpa(ḥ /*)
mahītala-Dhanado(da)-guṇ-aika-vṛkṣaḥ saptaturaṅgaḥ hṛ vai[19] sa
teja(jo)-rāśiḥ (//*) 2

Both the verses at the beginning refer to the king although it was
expected that the first of them would introduce the god and the second the
ruling king. Moreover, it is interesting that the name Śatrubhañja is not
mentioned in either of the two stanzas though that was expected. That,
however, the king referred to in verse 1 is Śatrubhañja is indicated by the
fact that the king is called *Nāg-ānvaya* here while one of Śatrubhañja's
epithets is *Nāga-vaṁś-odbhava* meaning the same thing. This is of consi-
derable importance because here the Bhañja dynasty or at least one of its
branches is described as an offshoot of the Nāga clan. The only epithet that
could have been used in this verse by the poet as the king's name is Raṇa-
ślāghin. The stanza is in adoration of the moon among kings, the
illustrious Raṇaślāghin of the Nāga dynasty, who made the fame of
his family as well as of his father lasting as long as the end of the
present *yuga*.

The second stanza is likewise without any specific mention of the name
of Śatrubhañja, and the only epithet of the king that could have been used
here as a sort of personal name seems to be Devaputra. It was a typical
title of the Kuṣāṇas of Kaṇiṣka's house which seems to have succeeded in
extending its power over wide areas of Eastern India. A very large number
of Kuṣāṇa coins, particularly of copper, and their imitations have been
discovered in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and it appears that the original
copper coins were in regular supply during the rule of the Kuṣāṇas while
they were locally manufactured by the moneyers when the supply of genuine
coins stopped as a result of the end of Kuṣāṇa rule or domination in these
parts.[20] It is of course difficult to say if Śatrubhñja's epithet or secondary
name Devaputra is in anyway reminiscent of the rule of the Kuṣāṇa
Devaputras in Orissa. The name also reminds us of certain medieval
Orissan kings who called themselves the son of Durgā, Rudra, Maheśvara

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19　Omit *hrvai*.
20　Cf. Sircar, *Problems of Kuṣāṇa and Rājpūt History*, pp. 52ff. (Eastern Boundary.
of the Kuṣāṇa Empire).

and Puruṣottama.[21] The verse is in adoration of Devaputra whose valour remained unchecked in hundreds of battles, who was the unique tree having the quality of the god of wealth (Kubera) on the earth (i.e., the Kalpa-vṛkṣa) and who is the sun which was that mass of splendour.

Besides the two introductory stanzas, the record is written in one sentence in prose which states that *Mahārāja* śrī-Śatrubhañja, son of *Mahārāja* Mānabhañja from *Mahādevī* Damayantī, built the temple no doubt meaning a temple for the god Śiva in the Liṅga form apparently identified with Naṭarāja Śiva represented on the upper part of the stone slab which may have been fixed near the door of the shrine. The rest of the sentence contains a number of the king's epithets. The sentence runs as follows in lines 3-13 :—

mahārāja-śrī-Māṇa(na)bhañj-ātmajena mahādevyāṁ Damayantyām⸗ utpann[22]-āneka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijayinā Nāga-vanśo(vaṁś-o)dbha-vena prabhāv-opaha(na)ta-sarva-sāmanta-patinā Vindhyāṭavī-nāthena sva-bhuj-opārjjita-kīrttinā Pāṭalīputra-Gayā-Krimilaḥ(lā)-Lalāvard-dhana-Puṇḍravarddhana[23] -Varddhamāna -Gokkhaṭī-Khadraṅga-Tā-maliptī[24]-ubhaya-Tosalīṣu gavāṁ lakṣa-pradena nānā-deś-āgata-cāt-urvvaidya-jāmvārāmī vṛhaspadhā[25] Āhicchatraka-śaṅkhakāra-maṭha- (the) Yā(Ya)kṣeśvara-Maṇibhadra-maṭhe c=ānyeṣu maṭha-sthāneṣu datti-sahasr-āneka-hiraṇya-lakṣa-pradena brahmacārī(ri)-caraka-pari-vrājaka-bhikṣu-rnnigranthaka[26] -varnṇāntak-āvasatha-vihāra-kārake-na(na) pāṣaṇḍa-bhikṣa(kṣā)-dena Bhāratha(ta)-purāṇ-etihāsavyākara-ṇa-samīkṣya-nyāya-mīmānsā-chanda[27]-śruti-Bauddha-prakaraṇa-sāṅ-khya-jñena vijñāna-rāśinā sarvva-kal-ābhijñena mahārāja-śrī-Śattru-bhañjena dev-āyatanaṁ kāritam=iti (//*)

Besides the epithets of Śatrubhañja in the prose sentence to which reference has already been made above, there are others in this section, which are important. He is called the lord of the Vindhyan forest which reminds us of the titles *Vindhya-nareśa, Vindhy-eśvara* or *Sakala-Vindhy-ādhipati* enjoyed by the Śaila kings of the Ragholi plates.[28] This inclusion

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21 See Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1971, p. 64 and note.

22 Read °*utpannen=āneka.*

23 This name was originally omitted and is incised below the line.

24 Read °*lipty-ubhaya.*

25 Read something like °*rvvaidya-brāhmaṇebhyo=*'*giahār-ādi-pradena.*

26 Read *nirgranthaka.*

27 Read *mīmāṁsā-chandaḥ.*

28 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 41ff.

of the hilly jungles of the Keonjhar District in the Vindhyan forest supports the belief that all the ranges running east to west or west to east in the Central belt of India were known as the Vindhya.[29]

An important epithet states that Śatrubhañja made gifts of lakhs of cows at holy places like Pāталīputra (usually written *Pāṭaliputra*, modern Patna), Gayā, Krimilā (Rajauna-Valgudar near Luckeesarai, Monghyr District), Lalāvardhana, Puṇḍravardhana (modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District, Bangladesh). Vardhamāna (modern Burdwan in West Bengal), Gokkhaṭī, Khadraṅga and Tāmalipti (also written *Tāmralipti*, modern Tamluk in the Midnapore District, West Bengal) as well as the holy places in the two territories called Tosalī (North and South Tosalī mostly in Orissa). Some of these names are not known from other sources ; but the list suggests that Śatrubhañja visited certain temples on pilgrimage at a number of places not only in Orissa but also in Bengal (both the present Bangladesh and West Bengal) and' Bihar. This he seems to have done as a feudatory of the contemporary Gupta emperors whose dominions included Bengal at least down to 543-44 A.D. when the fifth Damodarpur plate was issued and Orissa as far as the Ganjam region till 569 A.D. when the *Gupta-rājya* was *vartamāna* there according to the Sumandala plates.

Associated with these claims is another in which Śatrubhañja is stated to have made gifts of lakhs of *hiraṇya* (possibly, some types of gold coins including the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta Dīnāras) and also thousands of grants at the various *maṭhas* or temples such as the *maṭha* founded by a conchshell-worker of Ahicchatra (modern Ramnagar, Bareilly District, U.P.) and that of Maṇibhadra, the lord of the Yakṣas. Where the said two temples were situtated is unknown. If they were situated at the capital of Śatrubhañja, we have to thınk that an artisan from Ahicchatra probably came or had been settled there in connection with his trade. The capital of this line of Bhañja kings may have been Khiching in the Mayurbanj District, Orissa.

The catholocity of Śatrubhañja is indicated by another epithet which says that he made houses and monasteries for various types of recluses belonging to the Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jain communities. In the passage in question, the real meaning of *varṇāntaka* is difficult to determine. The king also claims to have been a student of Buddhist texts and a giver of alms to the heretics, probably meaning the Buddhists and Jains.

Śatrubhañja was a learned man as he claims to have studied the *Bhārata (Mahābhārata)*, Purāṇa, *itihāsa* (legends), grammar, *Samīkṣya*, logic, *Mīmāṁsā*, the metrical science, Veda, Buddhist scripture and

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29 Sircar, *Stud Geog. Anc. Med. Ind*, 1971, p. 56, note 6.

Sāṅkhya and is further described as the multitude of superior knowledge and an expert in all the arts. The word *Samīkṣya* means the Sāṅkhya philosophy which is mentioned separately possibly through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the word *kalā* has been used in *sakala-kal-ābhijña* in order to indicate the 64 arts.

No. 27.—*Egra Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Śaśāṅka*

The copper-plate inscription under study is said to have been lying with a gentleman of Panchrol, a small village near Egra which is a big village and the head-quarters of a Police Station near Kharagpur, the well-known railway junction in the Midnapore. District of West Bengal. It was acquired by Sri Asish Ray Chaudhury who has a photographic studio at Egra. My old pupil Dr. Sarjug Prasad Singh, Archaeological Registering Officer at Gaya (Bihar), received information about the inscription from Sri Mathura Mohan Chakravarty of Gaya and passed it on to me. I then requested another old pupil of mine, Dr. Dipak Ranjan Das of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, to trace the record. He succeeded in tracing it and taking a few inked impressions of the writing on both sides of this single-plate epigraph. The impressions were, however, not very satisfactory.

The plate has a seal affixed to the middle of its left end and the lines of writing are engraved breadthwise. The corners of the left side of the plate are rounded ; but the whole of its right side has a rounded shape. There are altogether 37 lines of writing in the record, 20 on the obverse and 17 on the reverse. The characters resemble those of some other epigrphs of the time of Śaśāṅka (c. 600-25 A. D.) such as the Midnapore plates.[1] In the central part, the plate measures $7\frac{5}{8}$ inches in length and $6\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height. The oval surface of the round seal measures $2'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$. It is divided into two halves by a demarcating line, the upper half being occupied by the representation of a vase (*pūrṇa-kumbha*) while the lower half bears a legend in two lines. The first of these lines reads *Ekatākakṣa-viṣaya* ; but the reading of the second line is doubtful, though it seems to mention some *adhikaraṇa*, i.e. the administrative office of a territorial unit within the said *viṣaya* or district.

In respect of palaeography and orthography, the inscription resembles the Midnapore plates of Śaśāṅka who ruled the Gauḍa country (together with coastal Orissa as far as the Ganjam District) from the city of Karṇa-suvarṇa near modern Berhampore in the Murshidabad District, West

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1 *Journ. As. Soc. Beng.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1ff.

Bengal. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is that one hundred is written by the symbol for that number followed by two cyphers while *b* is written for the sign of *v* in line 28. These features are interesting for the early years of the seventh century A.D.[2] In style, the record is similar to the Mallasarul plate[3] of the time of . Gopacandra (later part of the 6th century A.D.) who was one of Śaśāṅka's predecessors.

The inscription begins with the Siddham symbol followed by a sentence in lines 1-5, which reads as follows :

Svasty=aneka-srṣṭy-antareṣu pāramparyya-krameṇa samatīta-rājeṣa-
(ṣu) śata-sahasr-ādhyuṣitāyāṁ catur-dik-paryantāyāṁ catu[r]-varṇṇ-
āśram-ākīrṇṇāyāṁ [catur-a]mbhonidhi-mekhalā-kalāp-ābharaṇāyāṁ
śabda-śasvāṣa(sparśa)-va(ra)sa - rūpa - gandha - vaṭtyā [m=a] parimita-
guṇa-vatyāṁ pṛtha(thi)vyāṁ paramadaivata-śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-
śrīśa(śrī)-mahārājādhirāja-paramamāheśvara-śrī-Śaśo(śā)ṅkadeva(vo)
rājyaṁ praśāsati sma (/*)

This passage introduces Śaśāṅkadeva with the epithets *Paramadaivata,* *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramamāheśvara*. It is interest-ing to note that the sentence introducing Śaśāṅka as the king, viz. *pṛthivyām... . Śaśāṅkadevo rājyaṁ praśāsati sma*, is in the Indicative Mood and Past tense. Although we had occasion to point out how the Past and Past . Perfect tenses are not unusual in the place of the Present tense in the description of royal grants,[4] the introduction, as we find in the present record, seems to be unusual. Instead of *Śaśāṅkadevo rājyaṁ praśāsati sma*, the normally expected form is *Śaśāṅkadeve rājyaṁ praśāsati* in Locative Absolute. The record bears no date in the king's regnal reckoning. Of the king's epithets, the second and third are imperial titles while the first meaning 'extremely devoted to the gods' and the fourth showing that the king was a devout Śaiva refer to the king's religious leanings.

The next sentence in lines 5-17 runs as follows :—

ih=Aikatākakṣa-viṣaye   pūjyān=varttamāna-bhaviṣyat-kārttākṛtik-
oparika-bhuktipaṭṭalika-kumārāmātya-viṣayapatīn=tada(th=ā)dhikṛ-
                                                          ?

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2 For the admixture of the old system of writing numbers by symbols and the decimal system-developed about the fifth century A.D., see the Mankuwar inscription of Kumāragupta I, and the Terundia and Hindol plates of Śubhākara II. See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. III, pp. 133ff. For the writing of *b* by the sign of *v*, see above.

3 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIII, pp. 155ff.

4 See *Studies in the Yugapurāṇa and Other Texts,* 1974, pp. 47ff.

tāṁ(tān) bhaṇḍāgāre ca bhaṇḍāgār-ādhikṛtān=tadā(th=ā)dhikara-
ṇāni ca yathārthana(rhaṁ) jā(jñā)payitvā śirobhiś=ca praṇipaty=
aitadā(d-a)dhivāsīya-mahāmahattara-Skandasena- [Nā]gasena-pratya-
grahārīya-Paṭa-Ttrāṇek-āgrahārīya-Nāgadai(de)v-Ānantadeva-Tara-
ktodarbh-āgrahārīya-mahāmahattara-Dharmmagupta-Yajña-Vāsulo-
ḍḍā[v-ā]grahārīya-mahāmahattara-Somade[va]-Guhadev-Ākhavaṭayī-
kāgrahārīya-mahāmahattara-Godhyakṣighoṣa-Mokṣadeva-Vi(ṁ)śa-
tīkhaḍḍānīya-mahāmahattaso(ra)-Mahībhadra-Rāta-Cchāttra-Mṛgā-
ṭeya-mahattara-Gomidatta-Gurj[j]-ārapadrakīya-Bhaṭṭa-Dhanapāla-
Kāpalāśakīya-Bhaṭṭa-Gopāladeva-Sarṣapavāsinīya-Mahādeva-Vrā-
(Brā)hmaṇapadrakīya-Raithisvāmī-vaiṣayik-Ānāma-mahāmahattara-
Vatsaśarmma-Mahāpradhān-Odayacandra-pradhāna-Jayadeva-pra-
dhāna-Dhruvada-pradha(dhā)na-Yaśonāga-Pradhāna-Vāntha(Bān-
dha)vanāga-karaṇiko(ka)-Pravṛddhadatta-Samudradatta-Udyo(tt-Od-
dyo)tasiṁha-pustapāla-Jinasen-Ādāmar-Ācona-sthāyipāla-Śrīdhar-
mma-Svastyayas=tadā jñāpayanti c=āntaraṅga-Doṣatuṅgena vijñā-
pitā(ḥ*) sya(sma)(/*)

The above passage says how a number of persons submitted a
statement with due respect to the officers of the Exatākakṣa-viṣaya,
belonging both to the present time as well as to the future. The officers
included the following : (1) *Kārtākṛtika* (probably, a minister reporting
on the progress of important undertakings), (2) *Uparika* (governor),
(3) *Bhukti-pattalika*, (4) *Kumārāmātya* (high administrative officer
enjoying the status of a prince of the royal blood), (5) District Magistrate
(Viṣaya-pati), (6) Officers in charge of various departments *(Adhikṛta)*,
(7) Officers in charge of, or engaged in, the storehouse *(Bhāṇḍāgār-
ādhikṛta)*, and (8) [other officers of] the various departments *(adhikaraṇa)*.
In the interesting official designation *Bhukti-pattalika*, i. e. 'the *Pattalika*
of a *bhukti* or province', the real meaning of *Pattalika* is uncertain.
Pattalaka is known from the Mallasarul plate[5] while a female officer
styled *Pattalikā* is mentioned in the Sarnath inscription[6] of a Gāhaḍavāla
queen. The three expressions are derived from *pattala* probably in the
sense of a deed recording the grant of tax-free holdings so that it may
indicate an officer in charge of writing or preserving such documents, and
our inscription possibly speaks of a provincial officer of the said category.[7]

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5   Cf. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 373, text line 4, and note ; cf. *Ind. Ep.
Gloss.*, *s.v.*

6   *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 325, verse 22.

7   See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 304-05.

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The list of persons who made the statement includes the following : (1-2) *Mahāmahattaras* (members of the council of a group of villages) Skandasena and Nāgasena of the *adhivāsa* probably meaning the place where the *adhikaraṇa* or the administrative office of the territorial unit within Ekatākakṣa was situated as mentioned in the second line of the legend on the seal ; (3) Pata of the *pratyagrahāra* (a tax-free village of the same neighbourhood) ; (4-5) Nāgadeva and Anantadeva of the Trāṇek-āgrahāra ; (6-7) *Mahāmahattara* Dharmagupta and Yajña of the Tarak-todarbh-āgrahāra ; (8-9) *Mahāmahattara* Somadeva and Guhadeva of the Vāsuloddāv-āgrahāra ; (10-11) *Mahāmahattara* Godhyakṣighcṣa and Mokṣadeva of the Ākhavaṭayik-āgrahāra ; (12-14) the *Mahāmahattaras* named Mahībhadra, Rāta and Chātra of Viṁśatikhaḍḍāna ; (15) *Mahattara* (member of the village council) Gomidatta of Mṛgātā ; (16) *Bhaṭṭa* (learned Brāhmaṇa) Dhanapāla of Gurjāra-padraka ; (17) *Bhaṭṭa* Gopāladeva of Kāpalāśaka ; (18) Mahādeva of Sarṣapavāsinī ; (19) Raithisvāmin of Brāhmaṇapadraka ; (20) *Vaiṣayika* (possibly the same as *Viṣaya-mahattara*, i.e., member of the council of the district)[8] Arāma ; (21) *Mahāmahattara* Vatsaśarman, (22) *Mahāpradhāna* (probably, headman of a group of villages) Udayacandra, (23) *Pradhāna* (probably, headman of a village) Jayadeva, (24) *Pradhāna* Dhruvada, (25) *Pradhāna* Yaśonāga, (26) *Pradhāna* Bāndhavanāga, (27-29) *Karaṇika* (scribe-accountant) Pravṛdhadatta, Samudradatta and Uddyotasiṁha, (30-32) *Pustapāla* (record-keeper) Jinasena, Ādāmara and Acona, and (33-35) *Sthāyipāla* (treasurer in charge of reserved funds) Śrīdharma and Svasti. The said persons mentioned that they had been approached by *Antaraṅga* (probably, counsellor to the district council) Doṣatuṅga with a request.

> ā-candr-ārkka-samakālīn-ākṣaya-ṇīvī(nīvyā)　　　samyak-pratipālya-
> māṇā(nā)ni para(rā)kramena(ṇa) bhujyamā(nā*)ni icche=ha(ṁ*)saha
> pi(trā*) mātā-pittror=ātmanaś=ca puṇy-ābhivṛrdha(ddha)ye Kau-
> śika-sagotrāya tri-pravarāya Kauśik-Āya(gha)marṣa[ṇa-Vaiśvāmitra-
> pravarāya] tri-ved-ādhyāyine Bhaṭṭa-Dāmasvāmi[9] (/*) Kaparddipa-
> drake droṇa-vāpa-śataṁ kṣetraṁ tāmrapaṭṭīkri(kṛ)tya chitvātu-
> (ttv=ātra) maṁ tiyatāṁ[10] etaddharmma-saṁhitā-vacanam=upa-
> śruty=āsmābhir=yair=upari-likhitake(kai)r= anyony-āvadhāraṇay

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8　Since *Viṣayapati* is mentioned in the list of officers above, *Vaiṣayika* in this list was apparently a smaller officer. See *Ind. Ep. Gloss* , s.v.

9　Read °*svāmine kṣetraṁ dātum=iti/tat.*

10　Read *maṁ dīyatām=iti/*

=āvadhṛtaṁ yuktam=ayāṁ(yaṁ) prārthavate (/*) khā(cira)-khila-
śūny-āvaskarāyāṁ bhūmāv=avatiṣṭhamānāyāṁ [na ki]ñcid=artha-
mā[ttraṁ rā]jña(ḥ*) puṣṇātyi(ty=a)sya ca rajño dharmmaphala-
ṣaḍ-bhāga-prāptir=asty=eva (/*) yato dīyatā[m=e]ta[t-ko]ṣā(t*)
tāmra-paṭṭa-dāna-maryādayā   catu¹¹ṣpaṇika-[dro]ṇavāpād=bhas-
māṅgā[r-ādinā] droṇavāpa-śataṁ chitvā(ttvā/) dattaṁ gā(grā)māt=
paścim-ota(tta)ra-digbhāgena dro 100//

Here we are told that Doṣatuṅga's prayer was in respect of the
provision of complete possession of property by means of a permanent
endowment for the maintenance of the Trivedin Brāhmaṇa *Bhaṭṭa*
Dāmasvāmin of the Kauśika-gotra and the three *pravaras*, viz., Kauśika,
Aghamarṣaṇa and Vaiśvāmitra, for an increase of the merit of his parents
and himself. The prayer was for a plot of waste land containing mounds
that had been never cultivated before and lay in the locality called
Kapardipadraka. Details about the plot of land were traced, and it was
found that the grant could be issued as it would bring for the king ⅙ of
the religious merit accruing to the proposed pious act of the petitioner.
They therefore recommended the gift of one hundred Droṇavāpas by a
copper-plate, in accordance with the custom relating to the grant of
copper-plate charters, after demarcating the plot out of the land having
the rate of four Paṇas per Droṇavāpa, by means of ashes and charcoal.
And one hundred Droṇavāpas were allotted in the north-western part
of the village. In making arrangement for the creation of the
free-holding Doṣatuṅga seems to have received monetary help from
his father.

Paṇa was generally regarded as the copper coin of 80 Ratis (146.4
grains) although the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* seems to speak of a silver
Paṇa.[12] However, we know from various other records that the cost of
such fallow land was usually 2 or 3 gold coins (called Dīnāra which was
equal to 16 silver coins called Rūpaka) per Kulyavāpa which was equal to
8 Droṇavāpas.[13] The present inscription thus seems to speak either of 4
silver Paṇas as the price or of 4 copper Paṇas as the annual tax for a

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11 A redundant *akṣara* was engraved after *tu.*
12 Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 73ff.; *E. Ind. Num. Ep Stud.*, pp. 11, 39-40; cf.
     p. 32 for a Dīnāra equal to 48 copper-Paṇas.
13 See Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, pp. 292, 293, 333-34, 338, 353, 357. 360, 383, etc.,
     for the rates and p. 357 and note 1 for the ratio. For better land at 4 Dīnāras
     a Kulyavāpa, see *ibid*, pp. 364-65, 368, 371.

Droṇavāpa of land. It should, however, be admitted that the silver coin prevalent in Gupta and post-Gupta Bengal was called not Paṇa but usually Rūpaka, Purāṇa, Dramma and Kārṣāpaṇa (cf. Cūrṇī, the same coin counted in cowries) while the annual tax fixed for the gift land was very rarely mentioned in inscriptions.

The remaining part of the inscription in lines 27-37 contains some benedictory and minatory stanzas as well as a description of the boundaries. In this description, reference to a tank of the Cāṇḍālas is interesting.

18

GANAPATI IMAGES OF BENGAL

KRISHNA BISWAS

I

One of the cult-deities of the five recognised Brahmanical sects, Gaṇapati originally appears to have been a folk-deity. The full-fledged cult centering round him appears to have emerged in the Gupta age, though some of his icons, datable to an earlier period, such as those discovered at Mihintale (Ceylon), Amarāvati and Mathurā, represent his prototype.

Images of Gaṇapati of the Gupta and early mediaeval periods with characteristic icconographic features are divisible into three categories according to the attitude in which the god is shown : standing (sthānaka), seated (āsana) and dancing (nṛitya). The dancing type is, however, later than the standing and seated ones.

All these three classes of Gaṇapati images, viz., standing, seated and dancing, have been found in different parts of undivided Bengal. Of them standing images are more rare than the seated and dancing images. Representative examples of these three categories are given below.

II

A. Standing Type

A four-armed image of Gaṇapati of sandstone, found reportedly at Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Murshidabad district and now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University, shows the god standing on a pedestal. The head of the deity is broken. A rosary, probably a kalasa (pitcher) and a trident-axe are placed in the three hands. The remaining lower left hand holds some sweetmeat on which the trunk is placed. He has a necklace, an upavīta and other ornaments.

B. Seated Type

The seated type is represented by several specimens. Of them mention may be made of an image of grey sandstone carved on the west

wall of the Pāhārpur temple facing south. It shows the four-armed deity as holding a trident in the upper left, a snake serving as his sacred thread in the lower left hand, a bunch of leaves in the upper right hand and a rosary in the lower right hand. A mouse, the usual vehicle of the god, is carved on the pedestal (Pl.........1).

A spotted buff sandstone relief (1′6″ in height and 1′ in breadth) is encountered on the long wall of the same (Pāhārpur) temple facing north. The god is seated on a narrow pedestal in a recess on which the mouse is carved in relief. His hair is arranged with a big knot at the top and he is holding a radish with leaves in the upper right hand, sweets in the lower right, a bunch of lotuses in the upper left and the lower left hand is placed on the thigh. The god has a snake passing along the protuberent abdomen across the right leg. The forehead bears the third eye.

A four-armed statue[1] (abou 2′3″ in height) carved in black stone and found at Dhanuka portrays the god as seated on a lotus-seat with one leg pendant. A radish with leaves and a rosary are held in the upper and lower right hands. The upper left carries a trident-axe and the lower left, a pot of sweetmeat on which his trunk is placed. The rat is seen below.

A beautiful octo-alloy image of Gaṇapati (2″ in height) hailing from Raghurampur (Dacca district, Bangladesh) shows him with four hands ; he is seated in the *mahārājalīlā* posture over a lotus-seat, exhibiting *abhaya-mudrā* (never-fear hand-pose), and a creeper-like object (*kalpa-latā* ?) in his lower and upper right hands respectively, while the upper and lower left hands carry a trident-axe and a bowl of sweetmeat ; to this his trunk is applied ; the rat is seen near the feet of the god.

A four-armed image of octo-alloy from the preceding place, i.e., Raghurāmpur, about 2″ in height, represents the god as seated in the *mahārājalīla* pose. He has in his lower right hand a *modaka*. The attributes of the remaining hands are unidentified.

A black stone image of P. C. Nahar's collection probably hailing from Murshidabad district and now in the Asutosh Museum of the Calcutta University shows the four-armed god as seated in *sukhāsana* or *līlāsana* pose. His upper left hand is broken, while the upper right hand holds a radish with leaves and the lower left, some sweets on which the trunk is placed. The lower right hand is either in *abhaya* pose or holding a rosary ; the right leg of the god is placed on the rat.

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1. Bhattasali, N. K., *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, pl. LV.

A miniature metal image or Gaṇapati[2] of 6 cm. in height, belonging to the seventh-eighth century discovered at Rājbādidāṅgā (Murshidabad district, West Bengal) shows the four-armed deity seated in *mahārājalīlā* posture on a rectangular pedestal. He has a sacred thread and he is holding a trident and a radish in the upper hands and *modaka* in the lower right hand ; the lower left hand carries perhaps sweets or a pot in which the exceptionally long trunk is placed. The rat is seen below the right foot of the god. Perhaps a devotee with folded hands and a human skull(?) are carved below on right and left and possibly a lion(?) is standing along the lower edge on right.

Another metal image of Gaṇeśa[3] with four hands of 2.5″ in height belonging to the eighth-ninth century hails from Halud vihāra (near the market place of Dvipgañj in the Rājshāhī district and eight miles south of Pāhārpur). Seated in *mahārājalīlā* posture on a circular lotus, he is carrying a *triśūla*, a flower-bud, a *kalpa-latā* and sweets. The short trunk is bent towards right.

A bronze image[4] found at Pāhārpur represents the four-armed deity seated on a broad circular pedestal in three tiers. He exhibits in his hands the radish with leaves, an axe, a rosary and sweets.

Two dated images of Pāla period are found in Bengal. One of them is found at Mandhuk in erstwhile Tripura and the present-day Comilla district of Bangladesh. From the accompanying inscription it is learnt that it was fashioned during the reign time of Gopāla II. The Nārāyaṇapur image with as on its pedestal inscription of the fourth year of the reign of Mahīpāla describes it as an image of Vināyaka. It shows the four-armed god seated in position. The god is holding a radish in the upper right hand, rosary in the lower right hand, axe in the upper left hand. The lower left hand carries sweets to which the trunk of the god is applied for tasting the sweets. The rat is carved on the pedestal.

Mention may be made of an example found at Rāmpāl (Dacca), in the Dacca Museum. In this stone sculpture, the ten-armed and five-headed god is shown seated on a roaring lion, instead of his usual mount, namely the rat. Six miniature figures of Gaṇapati on the top section of *prabhāvalī* of the image form an interesting feature. It has been

2. Das, S. R., *Archaeological Discoveries from Murshidabad*, pl. I, fig. a.
3. *Ibid.*, pl. II, fig. b.
4. *Memoir of Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55, pl. LVIII, fig. F.

suggested by J. N. Banerjea[4a] that they represent the six sub-divisions of the *Gāṇapatya* sect, namely the worshippers of the six forms of the deity, such as Mahā, Haridrā, Uchchhishṭa, Navanīta, Svarṇa and Santāna. This image answers to the textual descriptions of a special form of Gaṇapati designated as Heramba-Gaṇapati (pl. 2).

C. Dancing Type

Some images, interesting from iconographic point of view, represent the dancing form of Gaṇapati. Of them mention may be made of a terracotta image of four-armed Gaṇapati in the dancing pose, with his rat on the foreground looking up at his master. His hair is done in a *jaṭājuṭa* [5]

A six-armed image of Gaṇapati[6] of blackstone, about 3′6″ in height found from Deul at Rānihāti and belonging to a local family of Aūtsāhi, portrays the deity dancing on the lotus pedestal. He carries in his six hands clockwise. the rosary in the first hand, *taṅka* or chopper (broken) in the second, the severed task in the third, a plate of sweets (broken) in the fourth, a creeper (*kalpa-latā* ?) in the sixth, the fifth hand is broken.

A dancing figure of Gaṇapati of eleventh century, presently under the possession of the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rājshāhi, hails from Gol in the Rājshāhi district. In this example the six-handed deity is dancing on a lotus pedestal. Two musicians with musical instruments are seated on either side. A bunch of mangoes hangs over his head. The rat is seen below.[7]

An image of Gaṇapati of the sandstone found at Sundarban and now in the Asutosh Museum shows the six-handed deity dancing on a lotus. The god holds a radish with leaves and a rosary in the two right hands. The two left hands hold probably a trident-axe (broken), and a *modaka*-pot on which the trunk is placed. The remaining right and left hands are in the dancing poses. Two musicians are shown on either side. The upper left portion of the deity is broken.

Another dancing figure[8], belonging to the eleventh century, was found at North Bengal, and is presently on view in the Indian Museum.

4a. Banerjea, J. N. *Development of Hindu India*, p. 357.

5. Majumdar, R. C., *History of Ancient Bengal*, pl. XII, fig 31.

6. Bhattasali, *op. cit.*, pl. LVI, fig. a.

7. Banerji, R. D., *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture* pl. LX, fig. c

8. Majumdar, *op cit.*, pl. XII, fig 30.

In this figure, the eight-armed god is shown dancing on the back of his vehicle, the mouse. He holds the tusk, axe and rosary in the three of the four right hands, while the three left hands bear assurance pose, blue lotus and a pot of sweetmeat into which his trunk is placed. He has two attendants, on either side, dancing as well as playing on musical instruments. A bunch of mangoes with leaves hangs over his head.

An eight-handed dancing Gaṇeśa of the eleventh century found at Hazinagar, Rājshāhi is now an exhibit in the Asuthosh Museum. Probably the blowing instrument, trident-axe, *akshamālā* are held in the three right hands. The remaining right hand is in the *abhaya mudrā.* His three left hands hold a flower, a *śaṅkha*, and a *modaka*-pot; the remaining left hand is in the dancing pose. The trunk is decorated with incised horizontal lines. Third eye is on his forehead. Two *śaṅkha*-shaped ornaments are in the ears. Four incised lines representing probably upper garment or *paṭṭavastra* are shown on the body. The rat is seen below the lotus pedestal. Two musicians are shown on either side.

An eight-armed image[10] of the eleventh century found at Bāngarh (Dinajpur) and now in the Indian Museum shows the god dancing on a lotus pedestal. Four right hands are broken. A bunch of flowers, a snake and a pot of sweetmeat are held in the left hands. To the right and left of the deity are two musicians.

An image of dancing Gaṇeśa[9] of the twelfth century hailing from Deopārā is now preserved in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society at Rājshāhi. The god has eight hands. Three left hands and two legs are broken. The broken tusk, an axe and a rosary are placed in the three right hands.

III

Images of Gaṇapati bearing affinity with the above-noted sculptures have been discovered in the neighbouring countries like Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Siam, Java, etc., which came under the influence of Indian art and culture. Representative examples are described below.

Mention may be made of an image of Gaṇapati[11] found at Java, now in Leyden which depictts the god as standing. He is four-armed,

9. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pl. LXD, fig d
10. *Ibid.*, pl, LXB. fig. b
11. Getty, Alice, *Gaṇeśa*, pl. 31, fig. b.

holding two bowls in the two lower hands and a cake is lifted up by his trunk from the lower left. An axe and a rosary are placed in the upper two hands. An ornate *mukuṭa* is on his head. His ear-rings are decorated with skulls. A serpent as his sacred thread is visible.

A four-armed Gaṇapati image[12] with small, round and staring eyes from Tjaṇḍi Singasari (Java), now in Leyden, is seated on a throne ornamented with a row of skulls. He is carrying the usual symbols. He has bracelets, anklets and a snake-girdle and skull ornaments.

Another example from Bara (Java) [13] shows the deity as seated on the *āsana* decorated with a row of skulls in front with large eyes and heavy eye brows. The four-armed god holds the usual symbols in his hands. The soles or the feet are touching. He has *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and ear-rings, bracelets and anklets. The head which is out of all proportion with the body, almost covers the torso.

A bronze image hailing from Java, now in Leyden, is seated in the *mahārājalīlā* pose on a throne supported by two elephants and the rat is seen between the elephants. The number of the hands is four. A nimbus is visible at the back of the god and a parasol above it (Pl. 3).

In one of the temples of Pagan, Burma, the four-armed Gaṇapati depicts the seated deity in the pose of a Buddha. He has big ears and round eyes which are flat and between them is a protruberence. A conch-shell and an elephant-goad are held by the upper hands. The lower left hand is in *dhyāna-mudrā* under the abdomen. The lower right hand is hanging straight in the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. A striking feature of this image is that a fish, a tortoise and a crocodile are carved on the three sides of the pedestal (Pl. 4).

A ten-handed and five-headed image of Gaṇapati[14] known as Heramba-Gaṇapati has been found in Nepal treading on seven-hooded snake Śeṣha.

Another Nepalese Heramba-Gaṇapati with Śakti is imaged with five heads and ten hands. He is standing on a lion and a rat. The short trunk is curled to the right (Pl. 5).

A painted Heramba-Gaṇapati found in Tibet shows the ten-armed deity with his Śakti seated on a roaring lion. The trunk of the god is bent towards the right.[15]

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12. Kempers, Bernet, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, pl. 235.
13. Ganguly, O. C., *Art of Java*, pl. LI.
14. Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. 18, fig. c.
15. Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. 21, fig. a

An image of four-armed Gaṇapati (painted) found in Thailand shows the god dancing on the back of the rat. Two axes are placed in the upper right and lower left-hands and a noose-like object is in his upper left hand. The lower right hand holds a round object, perhaps sweet. He is decorated with ornaments (Pl. 6).

IV

There are some stylistic and iconographic affinities among the various Gaṇapati images found in different parts of Bengal. And they deserve more than a passing notice.

A seated image of Gaṇapati found at Pāhārpur appears to bear some similarities with the Halud Vihāra image. The pose of holding the object of the upper right hand is identical with the one in the Halud Vihāra image. Like the Halud Vihāra image the Pāhārpur deity bears a big halo. Between the Pāhārpur and the Halud Vihāra images, some dissimilarities are as follows : the Pāhārpur Gaṇapati has a plain and circular pedestal of three tires, but the Halud Vihāra deity contains a lotus pedestal ; the trunk is long and turned to the left in the Pāhārpur image, but the Halud Vihāra god bearing a short trunk is bent to the right, unlike the Halud Vihāra deity a U-shaped *tilaka* is seen in the Pāhārpur image.

The dancing Gaṇapati image from Gol is closely related to the Aūṭsāhi image. The six-armed deity of Gol is dancing on the lotus pedestal as we have seen in the Aūṭsāhi image. The dancing pose of the Aūṭsāhi deity follows the Gol image. A snake is serving as the sacred thread of the deity of Aūṭsāhi, the face of which is visible near the right shoulder of the god and this feature is known to the Gol image. The normal right hand of the Gol image is holding the severed tusk which resembles that of the Aūṭsāhi image. In both specimens a bunch of mangoes is hanging at the top of the stela. In spite of these affinities there are some differences between the Aūṭsāhi and Gol images. The Gol image wears a *mukuṭa* which is not present in the Aūṭsāhi image ; two musicians playing on musical instruments are on either side of the Gol specimen and these figures are not found in the Aūṭsāhi example. ~

A four-armed image of Gaṇapati hailing from Murshidabad district, now in the Asutosh Museum seated with the right leg hanging and the left leg bent before him on the *padmāsana*, has resemblance with the Dhanuka image. Like the Murshidabad specimen, the Dhanuka Gaṇapati holds a radish with leaves and a rosary in the upper and the lower right

hands. A feature by which the Dhanuka image is distinguished from the Murshidabad example is that the right leg of the Murshidabad deity is resting on the rat.

The figure of the rat of the North Bengal dancing image is identical with the Pāhārpur terracotta image. The rat of the North Bengal image is looking upwards at his master which is reminiscent of Pāhārpur terracotta image.

<div align="center">V</div>

Some important images found in Nepal and Tibet in the north and South-east Asian Countries like Burma, Cambodia, Java, etc. have some stylistic and iconographical affinities with the images found in Bengal.

The Heramba-Gaṇapati figures from Nepal bear some similarities with the Heramba-Gaṇapati found at Rāmpāl. As in the Rāmpāl image, so in Nepalese and Tibetan repertoire Heramba-Gaṇapati is usually figured with five heads and ten hands and is found seated on a roaring lion. These affinities notwithstanding, there are differences between Nepalese and Tibetan specimens on the one hand and the Rāmpāl image on the other. The six miniature figures on the top section of the *prabhāvalī* of the Rāmpāl icon are not present in the Nepalese figures. Similarly Heramba-Gaṇapati in Tibetan art is represented on a roaring lion with *śakti*, whereas his consort is absent in the Rāmpāl image. As a deviation to the normal iconographic practice, one of the Nepalese examples shows Heramba-Gaṇapati as treading on seven-hooded Śeṣanāga, while another represents him as standing on a lion and a rat with one leg on the lion and the other on the rat ; he is further accompanied by his consort.

A Nepalese painting of *nṛitya* Gaṇapati[16] follows the dancing image from North Bengal (pp. 141-42). In other words, in this picture the god is dancing on the back of the rat.

An image of Gaṇeśa in the Pagan temple is practically identical with a relief of the repertoire of the Pāhārpur temple (on the west wall), Rājshāhi, Bangladesh. As in the Pāhārpur image, so in the Pagan piece Gaṇeśa has been portrayed with large ears and round eyes and with a protruberance between the eyes ; besides, the eye brows of the Pagan image are carved in one line conforming to the *yugmabhrū* tradition of

16. Getty, *op. cit,*, pl. 20, fig. *a*

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Indian Śilpaśāstras. In spite of these striking resemblances there are some noteworthy differences between the Pāhārpur and Pagan images. In the Pāhārpur relief the god is seated in the *sukhāsana* pose, while in the Pagan image he is shown in the *padmāsama* attitude. The Pagan example is further distinctively distinguished from the Bengal image by the figures of a fish, a tortoise and a crocodile carved on the three sides of its pedestal. Indeed, this is the only iconic specimen where these three aquatic animals have been portrayed. The lower right hand of the god holds a rosary.[17]

Gaṇapati as *Mahāvighneśvara* in a manuscript found at Thailand now in the Library of the Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Oriental Hazoi, represents the deity as standing (more in the dancing attitude) on the back of the rat. No doubt, the idea of this image came from the North Bengal image. But there are differences between the Thai and North Bengal images. In the North Bengal sculpture the god is eight-armed, while in the Thai image he has four hands. The Thai specimen holds a noose-like object in the upper left hand which is not found in the North Bengal image.

An example from Tjaṇḍi Singasari (Java) appears to bear some affinities with the Gaṇapati image unearthed at Raghurāmpur near Dacca, now in Bangladesh. As in the Raghurāmpur relief, so in the Javanese specimen the god is seated in the *mahārājalīlā* pose and carries a pot of some sweets in the lower left hand with his trunk placed on it. But there are differences between the Bengal and the Javanese images as well. The Raghurāmpur sculpture represents the deity as seated on a lotus-seat, while the Javanese image has the seat made up of skulls ; a rat is seen near the feet of the deity in the Raghurāmpur icon, while the mount is absent in the Javanese specimen.

Another four-armed Javanese image, now an exhibit in the Ethnographic Museum, Leyden, depicts Gaṇapati with a radish with leaves, *akshamālā*, a trident-topped axe, some sweets in his hands. This reminds us of the representation of the god found at Dhanuka as mentioned before. As in the Dhanuka sculpture, so in the Javanese image the god has his trunk turned towards left and with it he is lifting a cake from the

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17. According to Alice Getty the lower right hand is disposed in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* (earth-touching hand pose). A close examination of the sculpture, however, reveals that the lower right hand carries a rosary in the *bhūmisparśa mudrā*.

pot held in his lower left hand ; and again in both instances the rat is seen below. Perhaps it is the only Javanese image where the rat is depicted. The left leg of the Dhanuka image is bent before him on the *padmāsana* and this characteristic is known to the Mahāyāna Buddhist images in Nepal and Tibet. A royal parasol is on the top of the nimbus of Javanese image which is not found in the Dhanuka image. But the nimbus of this style is also found in the Pāhārpur seated image.

In a Javanese sculpture of Gaṇapati, now in Leyden, the god is holding a *modaka*-pot on which the trunk is placed. The trunk is decorated with horizontal lines. This characteristic is exactly similar to the Hazinagar (Rājshāhi) image. The Bara Gaṇapati also bears the same characteristic, viz., the trunk decorated with incised horizontal lines.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF KĀLAPRIYA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

In an interesting paper entitled 'Some Points of Text and Interpretation in the *Mālatīmādhava*', published in the *Saṁskṛta Raṅga Annual*, VI (Special Felicitation Volume in honour of Dr. V. Raghavan), 1972, pp. 70-76, Michael Coulson* has discussed in some length the identity of Kālapriyanātha and the location of the city of Kālapriya in the light of the evidence supplied by the *Mālatīmādhava*. The learned author has been successful in showing that the Purāṇic legend of Sāmba is not the only evidence for identifying Kālapriyanātha with the Sun, for, as he points out, 'the word *Kālapriyanāthasya* is followed by the phrase *sakalajagadekacakṣuṣo viśvātmanaḥ sūryasya* in a manuscript mentioned in the apparatus of Bhandarkar's second edition of the play'. As regards the identification of the city of Kālapriya with modern Kālpī proposed by M. V. Lele and developed by V. V. Mirashi[1] on the basis of the *Kāvyamimāṁsā* of Rājaśehara and the Cambay and Sangly copper-plates of Govinda IV, the son of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Indra III (915-28 A.D.), there is, however, some more evidence, noticed as early as 1914 and referred to even in 1945.[2]

Kṛṣṇa III (939-67 A.D.), in whose Karhad plates[3] Kālapriya is mentioned, installed a god of the same name in the Kāñcī region near Madras as is known from his Kolhapur plates[4] and another at Kandhār in the Nanded District of Maharashtra as recorded in a Rāṣṭrakūta fragmentary epigraph.[5] From this it is suggested that Kṛṣṇa, like Indra III, also encamped at Kālapriya in the course of his Bundelkhand

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* Dr. Coulson is no more in this world of living and the author of this note, who had the good fortune of being a close friend of the departed soul, the acquaintance between the two being of about sixteen years' duration, deeply mourns the sad and sudden demise of his 'never failing friend'.

1 *Saṁśodhana Muktāvalī,* Strand I, pp. 95-103 ; also Strand III, pp. 35-40. Cf. also Mirashi's *Studies in Indology,* Vol. I, 1960, pp. 35-42.

2 Cf. *Bhāratīya Vidyā,* Vol. VI, 1945, pp. 123 ff., p. 240 ; cf. also Sircar's *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India,* 1st Edn., 1960, p. 243 ; 2nd Edn., p. 307.

3 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV, p. 281.

4 Cf. line 55 of the record *(Journ Bom. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.* [N. S.]. Vol. X, p. 28).

5 *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXV, pp. 105-14.

expedition. This, however, does not help in establishing the location of the city of Kālapriya at Kālpī. But there is at least one inscription proving the identity of Kālapriya and Kālpī. It is the Khaḍāvaḍā inscription (1484 A.D.) of king Ghiyās Khalji of Māṇḍu which states that Husamga Gori (Husang Alp Khān Ghūrī) defeated Kādira Sahi (Abdul Qādir), ruler of Kālapriyapattana, and made the latter's son Salaha, a Khān at Māṇḍu. Kālapriyapattana has been identified with Kālpī by Munshi Devi Prasad and D. R. Bhandarkar accepts the identification.[6] 'This Kālapriyapattana', as D. C. Sircar also believes,[7] 'is apparently different from Ujjain and Kanauj and is no doubt the same as Kālpī'. The name Kālapriya applied to Kālpī has thus been traced to a date as late as the fourth-quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The kingdom of Kanauj, under Yaśovarman, definitely included Kālpī, where the most famous fair and festivities were held annually in honour of Kālapriyanātha and it is quite likely that on such occasions Bhavabhūti's dramas were staged.

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6 *Journ. Bomb. Bra. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 9 and note 1.
7 *Loc. cit.*

AN ALLEGED EVIDENCE OF
THE PRESENCE OF THE INDO-GREEKS
IN THE INDO-GANGETIC VALLEY

B. N. MUKHERJEE

An interesting Brāhmī inscription was discovered in 1979 at Reh in the Fatepur district of U. P. The inscription, which is at present incomplete, is found engraved on the shaft of a Śiva Liṅga in sand stone (fig. 1). G. R. Sharma has read the inscription as follows.

L1. *mahārājasa rājarājasa*
L2. *mahāṁtasa trātārasa dhāṁmī-*
L3. *-kasa jayaṁtasa cha apra-*
L4. *(jitasa) Minānada(de?)rasa*

G. R. Sharma thinks that the inscription is a Prakrit translation of a text written originally ın Greek which he imagines to have been *Basileos Basileon Megalou Soteros Dikaiou Niketorou Kai Aniketou Menandrou.* The epigraph belongs, in the opinion of Sharma, to the earliest group of Post-Mauryan inscriptions.[1]

Sharma identifies the king concerned with the Indo-Greek ruler Menander and considers the epigraph as an invaluable evidence of the presence of the Indo-Greek king in the Ganga valley.[2] Sharma apparently thinks that there was only one Indo-Greek monarch of the name of Menander, since he does not refer to the theory about the historicity of two soverigns of that name.[3]

The epigraph is written in the Brāhmi script and the Prakrit language. The language betrays influence of Sanskrit (cf. *Trātāra*). There is no difficulty in deciphering the first three lines, which can be read as follows.[4]

L1. *Mahārājasa Rājarājasa*
L2. *Mahāṁtasa Trātārasa Dhāṁmī-*
L3. *-kasa Jayaṁtasa cha Apra-*

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1. G. R. Sharma, *Reh Inscription of Menander and the Indo-Greek Invasion of the Gaṅgā Valley,* pp. 1-10.
2. *Ibid.,* pp. 10, 89, etc.
3. *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* 1958, vol. XX, pp. 73f ; A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins,* pp. 148f.
4. *RIMIGIGV,* pl. VII.

The first two letters of line 4 are completely effaced. At least there is at present no trace of any letter in the beginning of line 4 and immediately below the first two letters of line 3. The lower portions of all traceable signs (which apparently stand for some letters) are mutilated. Hence it is impossible to suggest any convincing reading for line 4. The shaft of the Śiva Liṅga below line 4 is reported to be missing.[5] So it is also not possible to be sure of the original length of the inscription.

It is quite clear from the above observations that the name *Mīnānadara (Menander)* does not actually occur in this inscription. G. R. Sharma is also wrong in thinking that "the text of the inscription was originally composed in Greek and was translated into present form."[6] Such a hypothesis would require us to believe that the epigraph was written under an official order of the Indo-Greek administration. But the hollowness of such an assumption is clearly proved by the fact that in legends on official products like coins bearing the name of Menander the only noticeable titles are *Basileus* and *Soter* on the obverse and *Maharaja* and *Tratara* on the reverse or *Basileus* and *Dikaios* on the obverse and *Maharaja* and *Dhramika* on the reverse.[7] The title *Basileus Basileon (Rajatiraja* or *Rajaraja=Rājādhirāja* or *Rājarāja)* was not at all popular with the Indo-Greek rulers.[8] It became popular in Indian context only during the rule of the Scytho-Parthians.[9]

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5. *Ibid.,* pp. 1-6.
6. *Ibid.,* p. 8.
7. *CIGC,* pp. 148f and 160f.
8. The title *rajadiraja (rājādhirāja,* meaning "king of kings") appears in the Kharoshṭhī inscription of only one type of copper coins of the Indo-Greek king Eucratides (I ?) (*CIGC,* p. 127). In the Greek legend on the same coins, however, we notice the epithet *Basileos* ("of king") and not *Basileus Basileon* ("King of Kings") *(ibid.)* This shows that the latter title *(Basileus Basileon* or *Rajadiraja)* was not a regular title used by the ruler concerned. The title *Rajaraja* can be noticed on a variety of copper coins bearing the name of another Indo-Greek ruler called Hermaeus (*CIGC,* p. 142). But these copper pieces, which betray very crude style of execution and bear in the Greek legend the form *Sterossy* (a blunder for the title *Soteros)* are now considered as products of non-Greek mints in the late Scytho-Parthian or early Kushāṇa age in the Indian subcontinent (B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas —A Study in Their History and Coinage,* p. 97). We have no other evidence of the use of the title *rajaraja* or *Rajadiraja* on coins bearing the names of Indo-Greek rulers. Thus any title conveying the meaning "king of kings" was not at all popular with the Indo-Greeks.
9. G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *Coin-Types of Śaka-Pahlava Kings of India,* pp. 1f.

No doubt, in private records unofficial titles could have been used before the names of ruling kings. But in such a case the title concerned should have been fairly well-known in the area where the record in question was written. There is nothing to prove that the title *Rājādhirāja* or *Rājarāja* was popular in the Gangetic valley in the age of the possible invasion of the Indo-Greeks (i.e. in the 2nd century B.C.).[10]

Thus the Reh inscription does not refer to either Menander (I or II, if there had been two Indo-Greek rulers of that name) or to any other Indo-Greek ruler. The royal titles [(*Mahārāja, Rājarāja, Mahāṁta, Trātāra, Dhāṁmīka, Jayaṁta* and ·*Apra(tihata)* or *Apra(tihatachakra)*],[11] occurring in the said record have identical or equivalent epithets (*Maharaja, Rajaraja, Mahata, Tratara, Dhramika, Vanida* and *Apratiháta* or *Apratihatachakra*) in the coin-legends of the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the Indian subcontinent in the 1st century B.C. and early 1st century A.D.[12] Palaeographic features are not against ascription of this record to c. 1st century B.C.[13] The forms of several letters in this epigraph are favourably comparable with those of the same letters in the Bodhgaya railing inscriptions of two queens of two Mitra rulers of Magadha, datable

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10. A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 83.

11. G. R. Sharma apparently considers *Apra-* as a part of the title *Aprajita* (i.e , *Aparājita=Aniketos*) (*RIMIGIGV*, pp. 7-9). This is certainly wrong. *Apra-* should be taken as a part of the title *Apratihata* or of the title *Apratihatachakra*. Both these titles were used by the Scytho-Parthians. But the Indo-Greeks used only the first one.

12. *CTSPKI*, pp. 1, 3, 5, 8, 12, 15, 16, etc. For the from *Mahaṁta* (=*Mahāṁta*) see the Taxila copper-plate inscription of the year 78 and of the time of Moga (Maues) (S. Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. II, pt. I, p. 28). The term *Vanida* (*Oanindo* in coin-legends of Kushāṇas) means "victorious," which is also the meaning of the title *Jayaṁta*.

13. The forms of some letters have archaic appearance, traceable in certain cases to Aśokan or to the first group of post-Aśokan epigraphs. But each of these forms can also be seen in records datable to c. 1st century B.C. or still later. The form of the later *ma* of the Reh inscription can be favourably compared with the forms of the same letter in the series I of the Sanchi inscriptions (of c. 1st century B.C.) (A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, pl. VIb, no 2) and in the Ayodhya inscription of Dhanadeva (of c. 1st century A.D.). *Ya*, with squarish base, can be noticed in the Mathurā inscription of the year 72 (A.D. 14-15) and also in the inscription of Dhanadeva. Compare *a, cha, ja* (older form), *ta* and *sa* and *ra* (indicated by a straight vertical line) with the forms of the same letters in the Sanchi epigraphs (of c. 1st century B.C.) (*IP*, VIb, nos.2 and 3). One form of *ja* (with nearly straight vertical line) in line 2 of the Reh epigraph, can be seen in certain records of c. 1st century B.C. (*IP*, pl. VIb no. 7).

to c. 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D.[14] Thus the Reh inscription should be considered, in the present state of our knowledge, to refer to a Scytho-Parthain ruler.[15]

If the Śiva Liṅga, made of a block of sand stone from the Vindhyas,[16] had originally been installed at or near the place of its discovery in 1979, then the epigraph on it, referring to a Scytho-Parthian ruler, may allude to the extension of the Scytho-Parthian rule beyond Mathurā in the 1st century B.C. or early 1st century A.D.[17]

<center>B</center>

The Reh inscription thus has nothing to do with Menander (I or II) or with the Indo-Greek invasion of the Ganges valley. However, the evidence of the Indo-Greek invasion of Madhyadeśa (including the Ganges valley in U.P.) is not altogether lacking,[17a] though we are not

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14. No doubt, A Cunningham (*Mahābodhi*, p. 15) and B. M. Barua (*The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, vol. VI, p. 5) noted similarities of the forms of characters in the Bodhagaya inscriptions in question with those of the same letters in Aśokan age. But one of the latest studies of the palaeographic features of these records, made by A. H. Dani, tends to place them in early 1st century A. D. (*IP*, 57 ; pl.-VIa, no. 8 ; pl. VIb, no. 8). B. M. Barua himself wanted to date these records immediately before Bahasatimita of Magadha, mentioned as a contemporary of Khāravela in his Hathigumpha inscription (*IHQ*, 1930, vol. VI, p. 21), which, on palaeographic grounds, can be dated "to about the end of the. 1st century B.C." (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, vol. I, p. 213 and f.n. 13 ; see also B. Lahiri. *Indigenous States of Northern India (c. 200 B.C. to 320 A.D.)*, p. 68.

15. Most of the titles, occuiing in the Reh epigraph, have been attributed to a Kushāṇa ruler (described as Maharaja, Rajatiraja, Mahata, Tratara, Jayata, etc.) in the Kamra inscription of the year 20 (of the Kanishka Era) (*Indian Museum Bulletin*, 1973, p. 114). But the Reh inscription may not be dated palaeographically to so late a period as about the year 20 of the Kanishka Era.

16. ⁰*IMIGIGV*, p. 6.

17. The Śaka-Pahlava (Scytho-Parthian) rule in Mathurā for a consideradle period is well attested by reliable sources (see B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society* (in press), Chapters I-III). The *Yuga Purāṇa*, which speaks of the Yavana (Indo-Greek) invasion of Madhyadeśa, also refers to the ˈ"greedy, wicked and sinful" Śaka kings (ll. 53-54 ; *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1928, vol. XIV, p. 404). We do not know whethci the Śaka rulers of Mathurā were among such Śaka kings.

17a. *MS*, pp. 146-149, nn. 55 and 56.

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sure whether there was one or more than one invasion.[18] Menander
(perhaps the first, if there had been two Indo-Greek kings of that name)
himself could have participated in such an Indo-Greek expedition.
Strabo stated that "the Greeks, who caused Bactria to revolt, grew so
powerful on account of the fertility of the country that they became
masters, not only of Ariana, but also of India, as Apollodorus of
Artemita says : and more tribes were subdued by them than by Alexander
—by Menander in particular (at least he actually crossed the Hypanis) (i.e.
Beas) towards the east and advanced as far as the Isamus (Yamunā ?), for
some were subdued by him personally and others by Demetrius, the son
of Euthydemus, the king of the Bactrians ; and they took posession, not
only of Patalena, but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the

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18. The exact duration of the presence of the Indo-Greek power in the Gaṅgā-
     Yamunā area of U. P. cannot be definitely determined. We can, however,
     consider the evidence of certain data. Patañjali, who in his *Mahābhāshya*
     stated *iha Pushyamitraṁ yājayāmaḥ* ("here I am conducting a sacrifice of
     Pushyamitra, i e. for Pushyamitra") (III, 2, 123), was probably a contemporary
     of Pushyamitra, identifiable with king Pushyamitra Śuṅga, who ruled in and
     about the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. (*Indian Culture*, 1934,
     vol. I, pp. 277-278). The *Mahābhāshya* in course of giving examples of
     the use of imperfect tense to denote a recent event, stated *arunad Yavanaḥ
     Sāketaṁ* ("the Yavana was besieging Sāketa") and *aruṇad Yavano Madhy-
     mikām* ("the Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā") (*Mahābhashya*, edited by
     F. Kielhorn, vol. II, pp. 118-119). Patañjali also indicated (II, 4, 10) that the
     Yavaṇas resided outsided Āryāvarta, which he defined as situated to the east
     of Adarśa, to the west of Kālakavana, to the south of the Himavat and to the
     north of the Pāriyātra. Sāketa (near Ayodhya in the Fyzabad district) and
     Madhyamikā (Nagari area near Chitor, Rajasthan) were apparently within this
     Āryāvarta. So if the Yavanas besieged these localities in the period of Patañ-
     jali and so also of Pushyamitra and were yet described by Patañjali as residing
     outside Āryāvarta, their invasions of the areas concerned should be considered
     to have not resulted in permanent occupation of those territories. The *Yuga
     Purāna* also indicated that the Yavanas did not remain in Madhyadeśa, which
     they invaded. Both Sāketa and Madhyamikā could have been in Madhyadeśa.
     Thus there could have been one or more than one Yavana incursion into the
     interior region of northern India during the life time of Patañjali and of
     Pushyamitra in the 2nd century B.C. But these incursions did not result in the
     Yavana rule of a substantial part of Madhyadeśa. The memory of such an
     invasion or attempt at such an invasion might have inspired Kālidāsa to refer
     to a conflict between a Yavana force and Pushyamitra's grandson Vasumitra
     on the banks of the Sindhu (Kalisindhu) (*Mālavikāgnimitra*, act V). If the
     Yavanas of these texts are identifiable with the Indo-Greeks, then Indian
     literary sources cannot be considered to indicate the Indo-Greek rule in
     Madhyadeśa for any considerable period.

kingdom of Saraostos and Sigerdis."[19] According to the *Moralia* of Plutarch, "Menander died in a campaign against the Indians."[20]

The Indo-Greek rule in Mathurā itself for a considerable period is not suggested by numismatic data or by any other type of source.[21] We, however, cannot altogether rule out the possibility of a short phase or short phases of Indo-Greek occupation of Mathurā.[21a]

The Indo-Greeks might have been referred to in Indian sources as Yavanas.[22] But it is not necessary to believe that all Yavanas, mentioned in early Indian sources, were Indo-Greeks.[23] The Junagadh inscription of Rudrādaman I of the year 72 (= A. D. 149-50) refers to a Yavanarāja of the time of Aśoka (3rd century B. C.) as Tushāspha,[23a] whose name (cf. *Tusa-*, name of a hero of Iranian legend ; and-*aspha<aśpa = aśva*) was clearly Iranian. Thus Yavanarāja, who fled to Madhura (Madhurā ?) out of fear of Khāravela when he tormented Rājagaha (Rājagriha),[24] could well have been an Iranian (Parthian or Scytho-Parthian) ruler.

In the light of these data it will be difficult to be sure of the alleged Greek origin of the Jauna-rāya (Yavana-rāja), mentioned in the *Niśītha-sūtra*, who, according to a commentary (*chūrṇi*) on this Jaina work, was associated with Madhurā (Mathurā).[25] The same remark may be applied to a Jauṇa (Yavana) king of Mathurā, who according to a story in certain Jaina treatises, assasinated a monk in a park called Jauṇavaṁka (Yamunāvakra) and later himself became a monk.[26] The tradition of associating the Yavanas with Mathurā might have been, as pointed out by Professor D. C. Sircar, partly due to a confusion between the names *Jauṇa (Yavana*) and *Jaūnā (Yamunā*). The latter name refers to the river on which Mathurā stands.[27]

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    19. Strabo, *Geographikon*, XI, 11, 1.
    20. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821, D-E. G. R. Sharma is wrong in thinking, following T. W. Rhys-Davids, that Plutarch indicated that Menander had died in "the valley of the Ganges" (T. W. Rhys-Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda*, pt. I, p. XXIII : *RIMIGIGV*, p. 90).
    21. *MS*, pp. 146-149, nn. 55-56 ; see also above n. 18.
  21a. See above n. 21.
    22. For an example, we can refer to the Besnagar inscription of Heliodora (Heriodoros), which refers to him as the son of Dia(Dion). and as an inhabitant of Takkhasilā (Takshaśilā or Taxila) and also as a Yona (i.e. Yavana) envoy from the Great King Aṁtalikita (i.e. Antialakidas) (*SI*, p. 88). Heliodoros, son of Dion and an envoy of the Indo-Greek King Antialkidas, was certainly a man of Greek origin.
    23. *Indian Culture*, 1934, vol. I, pp.342-357 and 519-521.
  23a. *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VII, p. 43.
    24. *SI*, vol. I, p. 216.
    25. A. Chandra and Kanhaiyalal (editor), *Niśīthasūtram* with *Chūrṇi*, vol. III, v. 3689 ; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, 1972-73, vol. VI, p. 171.
    26. See *JAIH*. vol. VI, p. 172 for references to these legends.
    27. *JAIH*, vol. VI, p. 172.

BOOK REVIEWS

INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT ASSAM, AN ANTHOLOGY OF
THE INSCRIPTIONS OF ANCIENT ASSAM, compiled and edited
with notes and English translations by **Mukunda Madhav Sharma**,
published by the Registrar, Gauhati University, 1978, pp. 16+37+329,
plates 67, Rs. 70·00 $ 15, with a Foreword by Professor Dr. A. L.
Basham.

In this book the author presents the text of 27 inscriptions of ancient
Assam covering the period from the early part of the 5th century A.C. to
1185 A.C. There are four rock inscriptions, one inscribed on clay seals,
three inscriptions inscribed on the body of three different stone images
and the rest are copper-plate inscriptions embodying charters issued
mostly by the kings of Kāmarūpa. Almost all of the copper-plate inscrip-
tions are land grants, the only exception being the charter issued by
king Vallabhadeva, who founded an alms house for the hungry ones and
endowed the same with a number of villages and hamlets and assigned
the services of five persons and their families.

These inscriptions are required to be frequently referred to by the
students of the ancient history of not only Assam, but also Bengal and
other adjoining areas. In fact these documents occupy a very significant
place in the domain of ancient Indian history as a whole.

The inscriptions included in this anthology have been already
published in different Journals and works. But when the inscriptions
concerning a certain region remain scattered in different journals and
works, it becomes a matter of great disadvantage to the students. That
is why an anthology of this type is always welcome. In his preface to
this book Prof. A. L. Basham also rightly says : '......it is most desirable
that the more important inscriptions should be republished in easily
accessible form, on a dynastic or regional basis'.

An anthology of ten copper-plate grants and two rock inscriptions
with Bengali translations and notes in Bengali has been presented in 1931
by MM. Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyavinod in the form of his
monumehtal work *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*. But that work remained long out
of print, and the subsequent discoveries of many more inscriptions urgently
called for a fresh compilation. It is really gratifying that the present

anthology has all the promises to fill up the lacuna. This is indeed a long awaited work. For the students of ancient Indian history, and particularly those who are not familiar with the Bengali language, this should cause the same joy as that of J. Keats 'On First Looking into Chapman's Homer'. (Vide *Palgrave's Golden Treasury*, Book IV).

This anthology presents the texts of the inscriptions as faithfully as possible with the suggestion of emendations, introductory and critical notes and English translations. The 37 page long introduction makes a very illuminating dissertation on the sources of the history of ancient Assam. So far as the epigraphic aspect is concerned, the present author has definitely succeeded in giving much more convincing and accurate readings in case of most of the inscriptions, e.g., the Deopāni Viṣṇu Image Inscription (pp. 306-9). Almost the whole corpus is well documented by as many as 67 plates. It is, however, a matter of regret that the much controversial Bargaṅgā Rock Inscription (pp. 4-9) is not warranted by any plate. It is also not understandable as to why the author has preferred to reject all the readings suggested by N. K. Bhattasali.

It is quite obvious that all the interpretations and opinions, embodied in a work like this, may not always go unchallenged. For example, different scholars can never be expected to be unanimous on a question like that of the 'location of the land donated by the Nidhanpur Copper Plate Grant' (pp. 59 ff.). But yet, it must be unhesitatingly appreciated that much ingenuity and force of original argument have been betrayed by the present author in respect of many complicated issues like that of the identification of Vallabha as a king of Kāmarūpa (pp. 299 ff.). Thus we are prompted to reproduce the words of Professor Basham who has precisely observed that the author 'has also a very sound understanding of historical method, and this book is much more than a mere collection of sources'. The printing and the total get-up of the book are highly impressive. The printers deserve praise for the high quality of the physical production. Scholars familiar with the tedious process of the prodution of such a serious work, in our opinion, would never fail to appreciate the erudition and intellectual labour woven into this beautiful and dignified volume, because, as the adage goes, 'the scholar alone can understand the extent of the labour of another scholar' : *vidvān eva vijānāti vidvajjanapariśramam.*

—Amiya Kumar Chakravarti

A SOURCE-BOOK OF INDIAN ARCHAEOLOGY Vol. I :
Edited by **F. R. Allchin** and **Dilip K. Chakrabarti**, Munshiram Manoharlall
Publishers Pvt. Ltd. 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055.
Rs. 60·00.

This is the first of the three projected volumes on the subject. Its
four sections deal with : (1) Background, (2) Early Methods, (3) Geo-
graphy, Climate and Early Man, and (4) Domestication of Plants and
Animals. Each section has for it a useful Introduction, besides a short
explanatory Preface for the entire volume. This Volume stresses on the
most vital aspects of early Indian Archaeology, and shows, how through
stages, studies in Indian Archaeology have been prosecuted since 1788.

The Introduction to Section I ('Background') speaks of the writings
on the history of Indian Archaeology, beginning with Markham's (1878)
Memoirs on the Indian [Archaeological] Surveys. The first of the twelve
papers, notes or addresses, variously written by a number of pioneers,
is William Jones' address, "A Discourse of the institution of a society,
etc." (1788), which, though not of any archaeological interest, then for-
mulated a highly stimulating but 'basically romantic ideal, and 'a grand
design,' for the foundation of a unique institution, viz., the Asiatic Society
in Calcutta. Similarly interesting are the writings of pioneers like James
Prinsep, Alexander Cunningham and James Burgess. The short address
(1902) of Lord Curzon who ushered in the era of scientific archaeology
in India by specially stressing on the Government's "duty to dig and
discover, to classify, reproduce and describe, to copy and decipher, and
to cherish and conserve." There are, then, the revealing articles of
India's three early Director-Generals of Archaeology, viz., Alexander
Cunningham, John Marshall and Mortimer Wheeler. The paper of the last-
named stalwart (1949) setting out general principles of "Archaeological
Fieldwork in India" is very instructive.

The Introduction to Section II ('Early Methods') seeks to show how
diverse and heterogeneous types of fieldwork were carried out in various
areas of archaeological activities prior to the evolution of a practical
scientific method. What, however, amazes one is the fact that people who
got themselves interested in the study of, and writing on, Indian antiquities
and archaeological activities "came from a wide variety of professonal
background—army officers, civilians, technical personnel...," whose day-
to-day work had nothing to do with antiquity or archaeology. But, men
of deep insight and integrity as most of them were, their love for the
study of the past led their pursuits into a scientific channel. Alexander

Cunningham, the virtual 'founder of field-archaeology in India,' began as a subaltern and ended as a banker after his official retirement. Jonathan Duncan, a senior official of the East India Company, realised the great Buddhistic significance of Sarnath, while P. T. Cautley, an irrigation engineer, was the first to realise the value of stratigraghic notings in' excavations. The papers of this section are significantly interesting, specially those of A. Rea ("Methods of Archaeological Excavations in India" : 1890) and of J. Marshall ("Archaeological Explorations in India 1909-1910").

The Introduction to Section III ('Geography, Climate and Early Man') indicates "the present, and to some extent past, state of Indian stone age research." Selected papers in this section lay stress on "terminology, regional succession of stone industries, climatological and geographical background, and general issues of 'middle stone age', 'mesolithic,' 'rock-painting' and early man." Of course, writings on these aspects of the Indian stone age culture are not uniformly 'rich,' and selected papers are naturally not always adequately elucidating. Being highly technical, papers in this section may not always be easily under-standable to the uninitiated. Those of general interest are the writings of B. Subbarao ("Personality of India"), Bridget Allchin and Andrew Goudie ("Pushkar : Prehistory and Climatic Change in Western India") H. D. Sankalia ("Middle Stone Age Culture in India and Pakistan") and D. H. Gordon ("Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture").

The Introduction to Section IV ('Domestication of Plants and Animals') rightly points out that the domestication of plants and animals as a cultural process is a recent concern in Indian archaeology. Notings, sifting of materials and adequate methodical work have not been properly done so far in this direction, inspite of the fact that "this is one of those areas of research where archaeology can significantly contribute to the understanding of modern Indian agricultural landscape." Selected papers may appear to be too technical for general readers. They may, however, have a fair idea about the subject by going through the writings of F. R. Allchin ("Early Cultivated plants in India and Pakistan" and "Early Domestic Animals in India and Pakistan"), Vishnu-Mittre ("Palaeobotanical Evidence in India"), J. B. Huchinson ("Crop Plant Evolution in the Indian Sub-continent"), Amita Ray and Dilip K. Chakrabarti ("Studies in Ancient Indian Technology and Production..."), P. K. Thomas ("Role of Animals in food economy of the Mesolithic culture of Western India") and K. Paddaiya ("The faunal background of the Neolithic Culture of South India").

In fine, the book has been ably edited, and the printing and get-up
are of reasonably good standard. The selection of papers by the Editors
from amongst two centuries' innumerable writings of varied standard and
value is a highly difficult and unenviable task, which fact would satisfy
readers so far as the 'personal preferences' of the Editors go. This
Source-book of Indian Archaeology will be of great use to all students
of Indian archaeology.

It has been a personal pleasure for the Reviewer to go through the
selected papers of this First Volume of archaeological source-book, many
of which are long out-of-print and almost inaccessible. Like magician-
weavers, the Editors have, with threads of heterogeneous hues. woven a
beautiful piece of fabric, which immediately attracts the attention of
connoisseurs, not because it is entirely of a great utility value but because
of the rich and rare varieties of yarns that have gone into its weaving.

<div style="text-align: right">A. N. Lahiri</div>

AN ARCHITECTURAL SURVEY OF TEMPLES OF KERALA

By **H. Sarkar**, Architectural Survey of Temples, No. 2, published by
Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1978 ; pages XV+296 and
plates 75 ; Rs. 85·00.

Before the publication of the *Monuments of Kerala*, a slim guide
book (New Delhi, 1973), not much was done to highlight the architectural
remains of this tiny state on the south-western end of Indian peninsula.
The author of that guide book thereafter ventured to give a comprehen-
sive account of temple architecture of Kerala. The book under review is
the outcome of that praiseworthy effort. It has seven chapters, a select
bibliography, a glossary and an index. Besides, there are seventy-five
plates and sixty-eight line drawings.

In the first chapter, the author makes a brief summary of what he
intends to develop in the succeeding chapters. He seems to be justified
in asserting that temples of Kerala should be taken as representing
regional variation of the Draviḍa order rather than an independent
architectural style. The second chapter deals with geographical, historical
and architectural background of Kerala temples. The section on
geography, while taking into account the geological factors ignores the
influence of climate and environment on architecture particularly on the
way timber is employed in architecture. On the other hand, the section

on history is burdened with such details of ruling dynasties which could be excluded altogether. The last section makes a survey of architectural tradition that served as a background of temple-building movement in Kerala. In chapter III the characteristics of temple architecture have been discussed with emphasis on the beginning of temple-building movement, materials used for construction, distribution pattern of different types of ground plan, characteristic features—both internal and external, chronological sequence and influences that went into evolving the Kerala style. Art and iconography constitute the subject matter of the fourth chapter. Stone sculpture, images in clay or stucco, wooden figures, metal images and mural paintings have been discussed at some length in this chapter. Though much useful information is contained in this discussion, it is not clear how images installed for worship should form part of an architectural survey. The chapter would have been more useful if the scheme of arrangement of images on temples was examined and an attempt was made to demonstrate whether this scheme, if there was any, was modified according to the change in time and space. The study of iconography could also be made in the same line. The last three chapters are devoted to an account of the individual temples. The author classifies the temples into early, middle and late phases and assigns a chapter to each phase. Every chapter begins with an introduction to be followed by an area-wise discussion of the temples. Temples of each area are grouped on the basis of their respective plans and studied accordingly. Numerous technical terms used in the body of the text are explained in a meticulously prepared index. However, a line-drawing of a temple with labelled illustration of as many of these terms as possible would have allowed the reader to follow the glossary with greater ease.

Inspite of some minor points on which one may disagree with the author, the book is an authoritative account of a little known subject. The treatment is critical, scholarly and comprehensive. With commendable precision and clarity the author analyses architectural features, makes typological classification and gives description of temples. He has been able to establish the chronology of Kerala temples in the most convincing manner. In every instance his arguments are based on sound logic. The value of the book is further enhanced by copious line drawings and well chosen photographs. Printing and get up are in tune with the high standard of the work. There is no doubt that the book will remain indispensable to those interested in Indian art for many years to come.

<div align="right">D. R. Das</div>

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KUSHĀṆA COINS OF THE LAND OF THE FIVE RIVERS
By B. N. Mukherjee, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Rs. 100·00.

The land of the five rivers, i.e., the Punjab province of the pre-partitioned India, witnessed historical upheavals through the centuries, many of which shaped the destiny of the subcontinental peoples. For topographical situation the region had to sustain repeated invasions from the northwest causing ultimate fusion of races and cultures. This and some other reasons have drawn the attention of the historians to its past for the last one hundred years or more. Archaeological discoveries, especially those from Taxila, have thrown fresh light on the region's contribution to the cultural developments of the country in the early centuries of the Christian era. It is now well-established that standing between the eastern and western provinces of the Kushāṇa empire the Punjab enjoyed a special position for providing the period with important centres of commercial, political and cultural activities. In reconstructing the history of Kushāṇa age numismatics is a major and possibly the most dependable source of information. It not only helps in settling the genealogical and chronological orders of the Kushāṇa rulers, but also in appraising material and spiritual cultures of the time. Professor B. N. Mukherjee in his present monograph, dealing chiefly with the Kushāṇa coins attributed to the lands of the five rivers, makes the best use of the source in deducing some valuable conclusions on aspects of the Kushāṇa culture.

The monograph contains three sections and seven appendices. Section I deals with attribution and impact of the coins ; Section II treats art of coinage and Section III catalogues the coin-types. First four appendices are devoted to problems of the coins attributed to Vasu, Bāzesko, Kaṇishka IV(?) and Vāsudeva IV(?). Appendix V discusses numismatic evidence on the theories about division of the Kushāṇa empire, while Appendix VI considers the technical problems of gold content of the Kushāṇa coins now preserved in Indian Museum and British Museum. The last appendix is something like an addendum to the section dealing with art of coinage. The monograph is rich in illustrations with thirty-two plates, though many of which show indifferent printing. It is full of notes and contains a comprehensive bibliography.

In Section I Professor Mukherjee has offered a historical survey of Kushāṇa coins chiefly on the basis of those struck in the Punjab valley. According to him, coins struck as local types by Kuzula Kadphises and Soter Megas (if he was a Kushāṇa ruler) in the territory

concerned may be considered as forming the early Kushāṇa coinage of the Punjab. Kuzula unmistakably followed the numismatic tradition of the Indo-Parthians whom he supplanted in the region ; but in the coin-types of Soter Megas a conscious attempt of reformation is clearly noted. In the earlier period Taxila was the most important of the local mints and its coins bore certain local traits of interest. But such local traits of the regionally struck coins were lost with the reformation of coins under V'ima Kadphises. All types of gold and copper coins issued by V'ima, Kaṇishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva I(?) replaced the local traits with the characteristics which might be termed imperial ; and they were meant for circulation throughout the empire. Though many of the pieces were products of the Punjab mints, they do not betray any regional peculiarity. The imperial character of the Kushāṇa coins, however, became diffused in the days of Kaṇishka I and Vāsudeva II, and their gold coins might be attributed to the different parts of their empire on the strength of their types, provenances and other features. At the end of his survey Professor Mukherjee has shown the extent to which the tribal peoples of the Punjab, who succeeded the Kushāṇas in the region, imitated Kushāṇa coin-types.

"Although coins are generally regarded as minor art, for periods like that of Kushāṇ Scythians they furnish evidence invaluable for the interpretation of the major arts. They provide us with the complete evidence of the strangely syncretic character of Kushāṇa art and religion. Just as postage stamps to-day furnish the philatelist with symbolical commentaries on the economic and cultural environment of the countries of issue, the Kushāṇa coins provide an advertisement of the religious and cultural relationships of this dynasty." It seems that keeping this view of Benjamin Rowland in mind Professor Mukherjee has included a long section on art of coinage in the monograph. In this section he has examined a large number of coins from the view points of technique, style and iconography involved in the depiction of the signs and forms on them, and attempted to correlate the findings with the contemporary glyptic art. In doing so he appears to have tapped all possible sources of information and touched all relevant questions. But as the period is well-known for its cross-currents of diverse politico-cultural forces, such as Greek, Iranian, Central Asian and Indian, and forming a stage of confused beginning for the classical art of the subconinent, it has not been possible for him to give final judgement on some of the issues involved in the study. Nevertheless, even a casual reading of this section

would reveal that so far as iconographical study of the coin devices is concerned it offers a very comprehensive discussion.

The reviewer is, however, especially impressed by an appendix entitled, 'Foundations of Kushāṇa Numismatic Art'. In it coins of the early non-Indian rulers of the northwestern parts of the Indian subcontinent and its borderlands have been examined as to "how far they reflect the trends in contemporary art." "From the scope and nature of treatment of the chapter it seems that it should have been placed in the body of the text, preceding the section on art of coinage. Because the essay in question shows laudable maturity in treating art history in a broader perspective of time and space. In determining the background of the numismatic art of the days of the Kushāṇas Professor Mukherjee begins his story with the Achaemenid domination of the region and chronologically takes into account roles of the Greeks, Parthians, Central Asians and the Romans. The sources of information are diverse and for a proper utilization of them one needs to make a multi-dimensional approach. It is a pleasure to note that he has done justice to his subject both by critically examining the source materials and drawing historical conclusions, with a facility which can be attained only through painstaking researches. This chapter is undoubtedly a positive contribution to the study of art history of an area which is almost a threshhold to the classical Indian art. We, therefore, thank Professor Mukherjee for his present endeavour to draw our attention to this phase of art history, so much dependent on the study of numismatics.

Asok K. Bhattacharya

BAUDDHA BHARAT by Bimal Chandra Datta. Published by Ramkrishna Vivekananda Institute of Research and Culture, 62, Sarat Bose Road, Calcutta 25. 1980. To be had of Firma K. L. M. Private Ltd. 257B, Bepin Behari Ganguly Street, Calcutta-12. Text p. 210 ; Appendix pp. 212-231 with 47 plates. Rs. 30.

The book under review needs specific notice because of its somewhat unusual character. It is neither a handy text-book on the 'Buddhist period' of Indian history nor a running account of extant Buddhist relics in various places of historical interest. It may look like an elaborate guide-book which assuredly it is not. It is really a brief compendium, precise and accurate, of many historical and technical details relating to one of the glorious chapters of ancient Indian history. Dr. Nihar Ranjan

Ray has introduced the author telling how he came to write this book while Professor Sudhir Ranjan Das, Head of the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University, has written a Foreword to the book explaining its scope and objective. It is news to know that the author who had some fascination for the subject of his study at the university followed it up later as a high government official under the 'Survey of India'. In the course of his duties he found time to visit out of the way places, collecting details and compiling notes into a well-connected account of Buddhist relics from the various find-spots scattered all over India. The result is this integrated picee of work which gives not only a truthful picture of the India that we know but also the India which we do not know.

The writer is no professional historian nor has he any pretension of being an original researcher. But even so his work is historically accurate and disciplined, based on archaeological records and epigraphic evidence. It makes his reader wish he could go out on a similar road-haunting pilgrim's tour and see for himself the wealth of scattered ruins, fragments of the vanished Buddhist age once so rich in its art, culture and religion and resplendent even in death.

The author is to be complimented for his schematic approach, for the way he has handled a stupendous theme within limitations. In the first fiftyfive pages he gives a general historical background, a short reliable account of the condition of India in Buddha's time, briefly describing Buddha's life and teachings, the main principles of Buddhism, the sacred texts and canons, organisation of the Samgha, the Buddhist system of education and discipline, the expansion of the new faith and its eventual decline and finally, a concise account of Buddhist architecture and sculpture from the Maurya to the Pāla age.

For archaeological finds and ancient monuments, the author divides his account region-wise, almost following in the footsteps of the Master. Places hallowed by Buddha's stay, closely associated with his mission and message as also those not blessed by his visit, yet sacred and important in Buddhist tradition, have been taken up one by one. The location of relics and monuments with suitable annotations and references, sketches and diagrams has been provided. Short informative nccounts of routes and means of transports have also been given at the end of each area-spot described. The pride of place of course goes to Bihar, the land of Buddha's birth, enlightenment and passing away. But the other areas, particularly East and Central India with their well-known specimens of

Buddhist art have been dealt with satisfactorily. Then he has taken up the Buddhist centres in South India, famous and not so famous, starting with Amaravati and ending with Kanchipuram.

Another notable feature of the book is the account of Buddhist centres in Western India and the upper Deccan, not missing the less frequented find-spots with their caves and rock-cut chaityas. Kashmir, Gilgit and N. W. India, now in Pakistan, have received due attention as jumping boards of missionary activity, places from which Mahāyāna Buddhism started its long trail on its way to becoming a world-religion, leaving its indelible stamp on the cultural history of Ser-India.

It is refreshing to note that the author has not overlooked a lone Orissa-corner, not usually visited, and stressed its importance in the history of Buddhist art and its intricate association with Tantric lore in which the late Maghuni Misra was the last great scholar. As a matter of fact, Oḍra-Kalinga deserves special notice because apart from Aśoka's close association with Tosali, even royal princes, following the Brāhmanical creed of Dantapura (Puri), Mayurabhanj and neighbouring areas lent their patronage to the new faith between the seventh and sixteenth centuries A.D. The author has given a short description of the origin of Ratnagiri and its huge complex. One wishes, however, he could make a little more elaborate his account of Khiching and Ratnagiri to help us know better how the Ratnagiri vihāra in its time could rival the greatness and glory of Nālandā. It may be noted here that almost a hundred years ago, Bankim Chandra in his novel 'Sitārām' wrote in glowing terms about the priceless art treasures lying uncognised among the ruins at Lalitagiri, Udaigiri and Puspagiri. For he must have visited the area while at Jājpur and wondered how such amazingly beautiful specimens could have been fashioned by native carftsmen.

For the author it has been obviously a labour of love and a book like this, however modest and limited, could not have been written without the deep personal involvement of a genuine student following the track of history, picking up details and putting them in proper place with care and understanding. The book, neatly designed and got up, with a select bibliography, an index and some good photographic reproductions is one to be kept in homes and libraries, to be enjoyed and used as a dependable reference work.

Bimala Prosad Mukerji

EAST INDIAN ART STYLES :   A STUDY IN PARALLEL TREND
By **B. N. Mukherjee**, Published by **K. P. Bagchi** and Co. Calcutta, 1980.
52 pages, 93 figures, in halftone monochrome, Rs. 100.00 $ 20 00.

East Indian art continues to be a subject of many-sided interest to
the art historians and archaeologists.

Since Stella Kramrisch, N. K. Bhattasali, Niharranjan Ray and S.K.
Saraswati had pioneered the publication and utilisation of the rich
archaeological materials of Bengal towards building up of the history
of art of eastern India, not much sustained and systematic attempt has
been made to exploit the rich materials which have been accumulated
through generations of painstaking labour in the field of archaeology.
Indeed, the archaeological discoveries in this vast tract of land extending
over the territorial units of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, which
physiographically speaking is not a homogenous unit, obviously reveals
a cultural pattern which is varied and locally different.   Yet the fact is
that the tradition of art which seems to have been current all over this
region, the ideas and ideologies, the tastes and preferences which are
said to have been articulated in this school, follow in the main a cultural
ideological pattern which is exclusively eastern.   But the accumulated
archaeological evidences clearly show that there are also other trends
present in almost all over this region where the impact of local character
and idioms have set in.   These have formed parallel trends which run
alongside the main trend of the eastern Indian art school.   This is only
in the nature of things, since any student of history of culture knows
that alongside the main stream or the 'Great Tradition' as known to
anthropologists, there are always parallel streams of 'Liltle Tradition',
one enriching the other.   Some work has already been done on this
local tradition, as for instance, of the art of Paharpur ; but this has
generally been done in their local isolation that is, without any
attempt at finding out their correlation so as to make them yield a
rounded picture of the people and of the art of the region.   Yet there
remains quite a mass of material that still awaits closer study and
analysis.

East Indian Art Styles : A Study in parallel trends, is a recent study,
a competent work on more than one stream of art running parallel to
the main stream of the great tradition.   Professor Mukherjee analyzes
a large corpus of work in stone and metal recovered from Bihar and

undivided Bengal on the one hand and Kāmarūpa, a part of Assam on the other. These images, dated and undated, and spread over five hundred years, from about the 8th to the 13th century A.D. from a perceptive analysis of the sculptural art of this region and of the period under review, Dr. Mukherjee shows trends of the parallel streams or local idioms and tries to underline this trend which he finds in existence simultaneously with the so called major art schools of the Post-Gupta art tradition. Insofar as Bengal is concerned, the author comments that this parallel trend exists right from the time of Paharpur, i.e., from the 9th century A.D. onwards and continues upto the 13th century A.D. Indeed, the rich repertory of art of this school, mostly Buddhist in theme, and which bears on them inscriptions in the proto-Bengali script, and the locale of which is the south-eastern region of Bengal (a few pieces of bronze images of this type have also been laid bare at Rakta-mrittikā mahāvihāra, in Murshidabad district), is a clear proof of the existence of having such separate art traditions, other than that of the Pāla-Sena school. Certain physiognomical features, for instance, the raised eyebrows, bulging eyes, protruding lips, short and stunted body frames, he argues, have no affiliations to the conventional physical frames of the post Gupta art in Bengal. Instead one finds in these forms a clear reverberation of unsophisticated, almost naive men and women with all their local and ethnical characterestics, inhabiting the outlying regions of Bengal. Excavations at Paharpur, Bhasu Vihara and Mainamati have laid bare evidences of these physiognomic types in terracotta from the stratified levels. Similarly in Assam, in Kamarupa region, numerous cult images which have been laid bare in the Assam valley depicting a sort of feature with squarish face, broad shoulders expanded chest and wood-like rigid form, display an art style which belongs neither to the post Gupta tradition, nor are the products of the Pāla-Sena school. He argues further that these features are peculiar to the art examples that have come down to us from the Kāmarūpa region, which is the reason why Dr. Mukherjee prefers to call it as Kāmarūpa school. He also argues that these features were derived from wooden prototypes, indeed he cites instances of a few stone sculpture from Deopani which are but replicas of orginal wooden form. The author very rightly observes that at the back of this process lay many forces, such as social, religious, and cultural besides ethnic. The contribution of this book lies not only in working on an untrodden field in the study of art history, but it also brings forth hitherto unknown materials on the subject.

Following the introductory section on East Indian art styles the work is divided into sections according to the phases, i.e., I) in the domain of the Pālas and Senas and II) in land of Kāmarūpa. Besides the monograph has one epilogue and two appendices. The text is accompanied by nearly one hundred illustrations which provide the visual argument in support of that of the text itself.

Amita Ray

CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

(A brief resumé of activities)

RAMA CHATTERJEE

Since reorganisation in 1976, the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture developed into an active forum of fruitful researches on various aspects of Ancient Indian History and Culture. The Government of West Bengal and our University provide financial assistance in the form of maintenance grant as well as research grants and fellowships. Recently the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi, has sanctioned study and travel grants to a number of our young promising scholars in recognition of their merit and competence. Last year the University Grants Commission provided financial support to two of our projects, i) a study of Shell Inscriptions of India by R. Salomon, and (ii) a study on the development of Khmer Palaeography by Professor Adhir Chakravarti.

The Centre has for its objects promotion of a multi-disciplinary approach among scholars engaged in researches in different branches of Indology. Activities of the Centre include—i) guidance and training on research methodology to advanced students preparing theses for Ph.D. or other degrees, ii) arrange seminars, group discussions and apecial lectures by experts on specific topics or to sort out particular problems relating to Indian history and culture, iii) organise All-India Seminars, at least once a year, on selected themes in which well known scholars from different parts of the country are invited to participate, iv) arrange courses of extra curricular lectures by experts in allied subjects with a view to widening the historical outlook of our researchers and teachers as well, and v) maintenance of an archival wing for proper preservation of data and documents, slides and photographs (collected for various research projects) as well as final reports of completed projects (until their publication). Since 1976 as many as nineteen research projects on diverse aspects of Indological studies had been launched under the auspices of the Centure, some of them duly completed and typed are preserved in bound volumes for the benefit of other scholars, who may consult them as and when necessary.

ACHIEVEMENTS

i) *East Indian Bronzes.* The first research publication of the Centre, edited by Dr S. K. Mitra, was formally released for circulation by Professor Satish Chandra, Chairman, University Grants Commission at the inaugural session of an Inter-University Seminar, on February 7, 1980.

. ii) *Shell Inscriptions of India* by Richard Salomon. The first part of the treatise had been published in vol. XI (1977-78) of our Journal and the final part with illustrations has been included in the current volume (XII).

iii) and iv) *History of Jainism in West Bengal* by Dr Ashim Kumar Chatterje, and *Buddhism in Bengal : A Study in the Survival of Old Tenets and Rituals* by Dr N. N. Bhattacharya. Final reports of both the projects are awaiting publication.

v) *Index to proper names in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa* by Dr R. K. Bhattacharya. The volume covering Kāṇḍas I to III stands ready for publication.

vi) *A Corpus of Inscriptions of Kāmaiūpa,* edited by Dr S. C. Bhattacharyya and Dr Amitabha Bhattacharya. The first part of the Corpus comprising inscriptions of the Bhauma Naraka dynasty is ready for the press.

vii) *Religion as practised in West Bengal Districts* by Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya. A survey of ancient cults and ritualistic traditions as obtaining under modern conditions in the districts of Hooghly and Bankura have been completed. It is the first part of an on-going project.

viii) *Khmer Palaeography* by Professor Adhir Chakravarti. The first part of the report traces the development of Khmer Palaeography. The second part containing analysis of data and assessment of historical materials is under preparation.

CURRENT ACTIVITIES

A number of research projects launched by the Centre are now in different stages of progress. (a) Some of them, initiated by the University, have been brought under the West Bengal Government aid programme. Other research projects are financed (b) by the Government of West Bengal and (c) by the University.

In the category (a) come three projects, viz., (i) *A Dictionary of Brahmanical Iconography* by Dr. K. K. Dasgupta.   The work of the projected dictionary is in progress.   Entries relating to the letter '*A*' have been finally edited in 1978 and those under the heading *B,C* and *D* have been processed last year.   Entries relating to *B* and *C* have been finally edited.   In connection with the collection of materials the Project Director visited during the period under review the MGM Museum, Raipur ; Sambalpur University Museum, Sambalpur ; State Museum, Bhuvaneswar; Archaeological Museum at Sarnath ; Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi ; State Museum, Lucknow; Bangalore Museum; and Government Museum, Madras.   Materials have also been gathered from the temple sculptures at most of these sites.   A part of his findings has been embodied in his "Iconographical Notes" included in this issue of the *Journal*.

(ii)   *Archaic Coins of Northern India* by Dr. A. N. Lahiri.   In the first year (1977-78) the work of the project was mainly concentrated on collection of data on archaic coins including punch-marked issues from different published materials and also from on the spot studies at the Assam State Museum (Gauhati), Orissa State Museum (Bhuvaneswar) and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (Varanasi.   For first hand study, collections, particularly of punch marked varieties, of a number of museums (Raipur, Sambalpur, Bhuvaneswar etc.) and also some private collections at Bhuvaneswar, Bihar Sharif and Varanasi have been examined and interesting specimens photographed by the Project Director.   Last year the Director visited the Lucknow Museum (Dec. 1979) and Madras and Mysore Museums (March 1980) in order to make a special study of the Durga Prasad Collection, Paila, Shamiawala and Lotapur hoards of *Kārshāpaṇas* at the latter.   Documentation of respective weights, sizes and other technical details have been made and photographs of important specimens collected.   In the current year the study report tracing the origins, antiquity and evolution of the archaic and punch marked coinage system is being prepared.

(iii)   *Medieval Indian Sculpture* by Dr. Asok Kumar Bhattacharya.   During the year 1978-79 considerable progress has been achieved in respect of collection of data and their analysis.   Bibliographical indexing from different Journals, chiefly on art and and archaeology, is being made.   Besides, about one thousand photographs depicting medieval Indian sculptures of the various parts of India have been obtained from Archaeological Survey of India, National Museum (New Delhi), Indian Museum (Calcutta), Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, and various other

sources.   The Director is now engaged in writing the introductory section in which broad historical background will be dealt with.

(b) (i) *A Survey of Old Architecture and Monuments of Calcutta* by Dr. A. Bhattacharya and a team of assistants with Prof S. K. Saraswati as adviser.   Detailed survey and compilation of data relating to architectural types of religious shrines (Hindu, Muslim, and Christian) located in the city have been completed.   The study report on Church and Mosque architecture in likely to be completed by 1981.

(ii) *Patterns of Economic Growth in Ancient India*, (Gleanings from North Indian Inscriptions).   Project Director Dr. S. K. Mitra and Co-ordinators, Prof. Adhir Chakravatti, Dr. Saradindu Bhattacharya and Dr. Amitabha Bhattacharya with a team of assistants.   Collection and compilation of relevant data from North Indian epigraphic records upto the end of the period of the Imperial Guptas was completed in 1979.   A similar study of records of Eastern India comprising the states of Bihar, Bengal, Assam, Nepal, Orissa, and contiguous areas has been made in the current year.   Northern and Western Indian records of the post-Gupta period will also be examined on the same lines in 1980-81.

(iii) *Concept of Mātṛkā aud Her Different Aspects* by Dr. Sm. Juthika Maitra. During the year under report the scholar visited American Institute of Indian Studies, Sarnath Site Museum, Archaeological Museum (Queens College) and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Varanasi, Allahabad Museum, Lucknow Museum, National Museum (New Delhi) and Archaeological Survey of India, Government Museum and Krishna Janma Samsthan, Mathura etc. and collected photographs of important icons reflecting on the origin and development of the Mother Cult.   Photographic documents of different regions of India and Bangladesh have also been collected.   Study report on the project is being prepared.

(iv) *Śaiva Images on Orissan Temple Walls* by Dr. D. R. Das. The project aims at finding out the link between the structure and the scheme of arranging images on the walls of Orissan temples.   The early phase of the work (7th-9th century A.D.) has been completed. Final report is being drafted.   The next phase of the project (10th-13th century A.D.) will be taken up during the current yeer.

(v) *A Critical Edition of A Puranic Lists of Historical Kings of Ancient India* by Dr. Sm. Rama Chatterji under the supervision of Dr. B. N. Mukherji. Collation of the relevant passages from the published editions of the Purāṇas concerned and preparation of correct editions of the different units have been completed during

1979-80. A critically edited central text, on the basis of data collected from the published editions of the. Purāṇas, is being prepared.

(vi) *Bibliography of the Coinage of Bengal (West Bengal and Bangladesh)* by Sri Dilip Kumar Nag and Rajib Kānti Sarmadhikari with Prof. B. N. Mukherjee as superviser. The project aims at preparing an annotated Bibliography of the coinage of Bengal and a comprehensive list of coins found or struck in Bengal and now preserved in different collections. After compiling materials from relevant published articles in different Journals and Periodicals, an attempt is now being made to collect data from different museums of Calcutta.

(c) Project financed by the Calcutta University :

(i) *Indian Medical Texts in Central Asia.* Director Dr. Sm. Kshanika Chatterji (Saha) with Dr. B. Gupta as Coordinator and assisted by a Junior Research Fellow. The project envisages examination of the Sanskrit medical texts discovered by Col. Bower from a stūpa near Kucha in Central Asia and evaluate their importance with a fresh translation of the texts. Part I of the text *Nāvanitakaṁ* (in three parts) provided with translation has been studied. The text is now being compared with the photo copies of the manuscript. A Glossary of Medical Terms recorded in the text is also being compiled.

PROGRAMME FOR 1980-81

Several of the projects mentioned above are on-going projects and will continue in 1980-81. They include—

(i) *Corpus of Kāmarūpa Inscriptions* by Dr. S. C. Bhattacharyya and Dr. A Bhattacharya. The second and final part of this project report is under preparation. This part includes the inscriptions of the Śālastambha and Pāla dynasties and other stray inscriptions of the region.

(ii) *Index to Proper names in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa* by Dr. R. K. Bhattacharyya. For the second volume of the Index of names, a compilation of 3000 entries covering Kāṇḍas IV to VI have been made, for which press copy is being prepared.

(iii) *Patterns of Economic Growth in Ancient India*—Gleanings from South Indian Inscriptions by Dr. S. K. Mitra with Prof. A. Chakravarti, Dr. Saradindu Bhattacharya and Dr. Amitabha Bhattacharya as Co-ordinators. The project will be undertaken in 1980-81 with the financial assistance sanctioned by the I.C.H.R., New Delhi.

(iv) *Religion As Practised in West Bengal Districts—A Survey of Midnapur District,* is proposed to be taken up by Dr. N.N. Bhattacharya.

(v) *Rhapsodists of Early India to be* taken up by Dr. Rama Chatterjee.

The project aims at preparing a bardic history from gleamings of historical materials about the origin, categories and socio-economic life depicted in the traditional rhapsodes, orally transmitted by bardic singers and reciters. Some hitherto unknown sources will thus be examined from historical angle.

SEMINARS AND LECTURES

Between the year 1979 and 1980 two Inter-University seminars had been organised, the first one on Geographical Factors in Ancient India on March 22 and 23, 1979, and the second one on Medieval Trends in Indian Art on February 7 and 8, 1980.

(1) Geographical Factors in Ancient India, an instance of a seminar on an inter-disciplinary theme, was inaugurated by Prof. R. K. Poddar, Vice-Chancellor. Dr. D. C. Sircar presided over the two-day seminar which had four separate sessions on—(i) Geographical Features of the sub-continent, (ii) Historical Geography of the sub-continent, (iii) Influence of Geography on History, (iv) Problems of Research in Historical Geography. Besides Prof. D. C. Sircar, Prof. B. N. Mukherjee also addressed the opening session. Other distinguished scholars who attended the seminar and read their papers were Prof. Bireswar Banerjee and Dr. P. K. Saha (both of the Dept. of Geography, C. U.), Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Sagar University, M. P.), Dr. J. K. Sahu (Sambalpur University), Dr. K. V. Ramesh (Superintending Epigragraphist, Old University, Mysore), Dr. Mrs. Susan Gole (New Delhi), Dr. B. P. Majumdar (Patna University) and others. The proceedings of the seminar will be published in due course.

(2) Medieval Trends in Ancient Indian Art (750 A.D. to 1200 A.D.). This Inter-University seminar was organised to mark the occasion of the release of the first research publication of the Centre, *East Indian Bronzes.* Addressed by Prof. B. N. Mukherjee, the inaugural session was conducted by Prof. R. K. Poddar, Vice-Chancellor, who invited Prof. Satish Chandra, Chairman, UGC., to release the volume on *East Indian Bronzes.* Prof. K. K. Ganguli delivered the key-note address on the theme of the seminar, dwelling on diverse aspects of art movements of the period. The inaugural session was

concluded with a vote of thanks by Dr. S. K. Mitra. Next day with Prof. K. K. Ganguli, on chair the seminar was split up into two academic sessions, viz., (i) Medieval Trends in Architecture and Sculpture and (ii) Medieval Trends in Iconography, Painting and Minor Arts. Dr. D. R. Das, Sri G. Subbiah (Visva Bharati), Dr. A. K. Bhattacharya, Sri M. M. Mukherjee (North Bengal University), Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, Dr. Jayanta Chakrabarti (Visva Bharati), Dr. Amita Ray and others contributed papers.

(3) *Quarterly Seminars* : 1979-80.

The following papers were read and discussed in the Departmental seminars :

i)   15.3.79—Dr N. N. Bhattacharya,—Religion as practised in West Bengal Districts—*A Survey of the Hooghly District.*

ii) 19.7.79—Dr A. K. Chatterjee—*A Note on Overseas Trade in Early Medieval India.*

iii) 20.11.79—Dr K. K. Dasgupta—*Some Rare Brahmanical Gods and Goddesses.*

(4) *Special Lectures* : 1979-80.

i)   18.1.79—A. L. Basham—*Concept of Bodhisattva.*

ii)   13.12.79—Dr A. C. Pal—*Ancient Pottery.*

iii) 5.2.80—Mrs. K. Riboud—*Mural Paintings from recently excavated sites in the Soviet and Chinese Turkestan.*

iv)   14.2.80—H. Sarkar—*Nagarjunakonda from Pre-history to History.*

v)   29.2.80—Dr David Kofp—*A Historian's Critique of Edward Said's Orientalism.*

vi)   28.3.80—Dr Kamaleswar Bhattacharya—*India and South East Asia.*

vii) 15.4.80—Dr A. C. Pal—*Pre-historic Pottery of India.*

viii) 5, 6 and 9.5.80—Dr G. Subbiah—*History of the Chola Empire.*

(5) *Extra-Curricular Lectures* :

i) Dr. S. Mukherjee, (Geology Deptt., C.U.)—*Science of Geology.*

ii) Dr P. K. Saha, (Geography Deptt., C.U.)—*Physical Outline of India.*

(6) *Fellows' Forum* : Scholars and Fellows of different categories belonging to the Department and the Centre have been encouraged to form a Fellows' Forum. They meet once a month in a seminar to read

papers relating to subjects of their own researches. Following papers were read and discussed at the Fellows' Forum since its inception in December, 1978.

10.1.79—Korak K. Chaudhuri—Itihāsa versus History.

14 2.79—Mala Dutta—Problems of Attribution of the Sātavāhana Coins—Attribution of Coins issued by King Sātavāhana.

4.4.79—Somnath   Mukherjee—Representation   of   Miracles   in Buddhist Art.

10.5.79—Chirakishore Bhaduri—Self-immolation of widows in the Vedic Age.

11.7.79—Sm. Krishna Biswas—Gaṇapati Images of Bengal.

16.8.79—Sm. Seema Banerjee—State Monopolies in Ancient India.

12.9.79—Anindita Sen—Art and Nature in Indian conception.

18.11.79—Ranabir Chakravarti—Classical Accounts on the Seven Castes of India.

14.12.79—Saswati Gupta—Temples of the Himalayan U.P.

5.3.80—Chhanda Mukherjee—Iconography of Deities as seen on the Coins of the Imperial Guptas.

9.4.80—Sm. Anasua Sengupta—Buddhism in Bengal and some connected problems.

5.5.80—Sm. Mangala Sawoo—Contact between India and Soviet Central Asia in Pre-historic times.
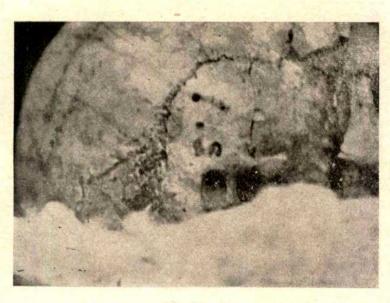
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Fig No. 7

Fig. No. 6
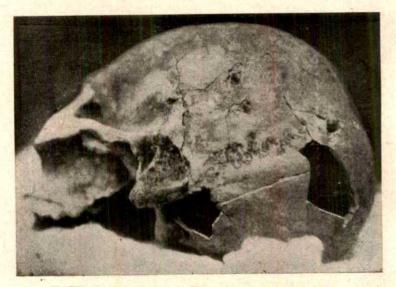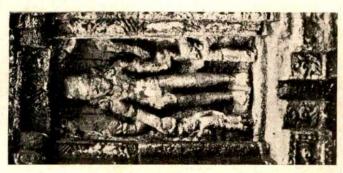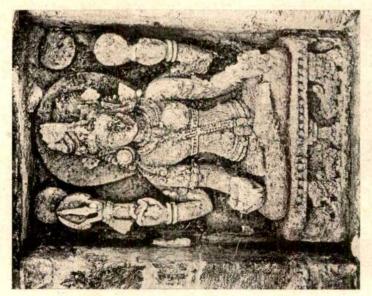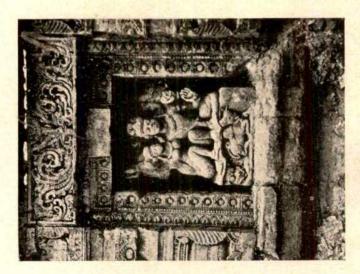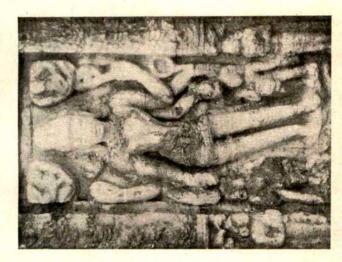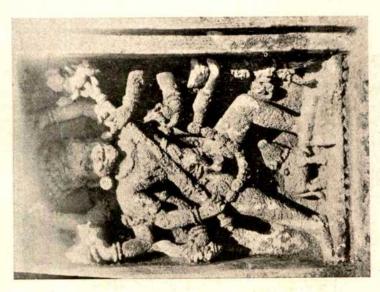
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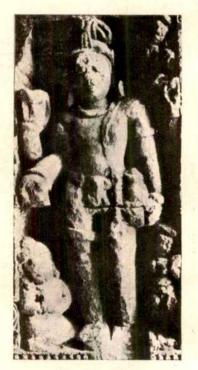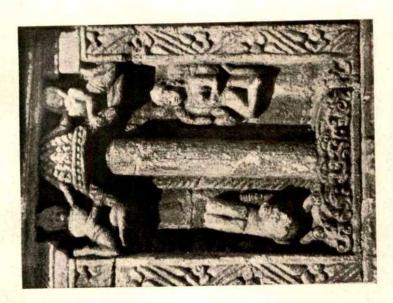
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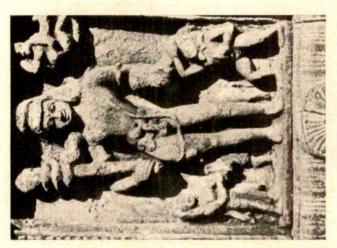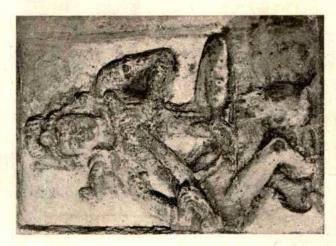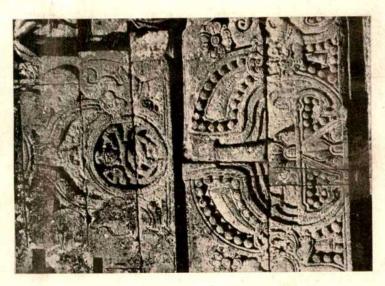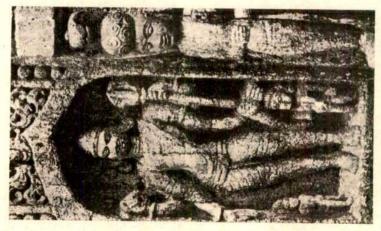
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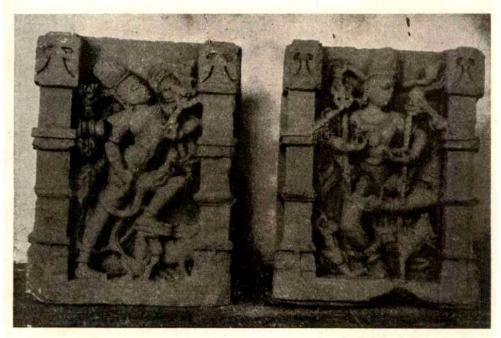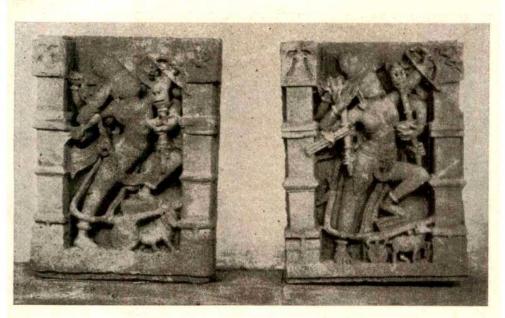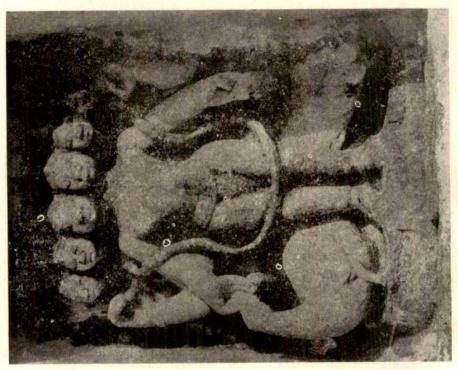
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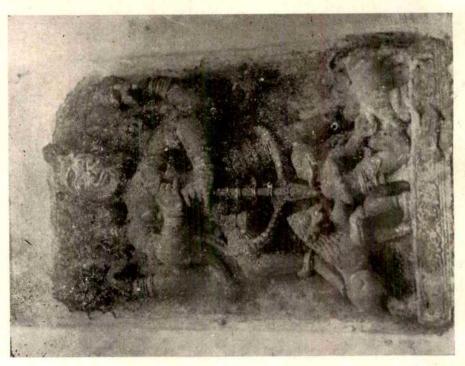
Fig. No. 6

ROYAL PERSONAGES IN GUPTA GOLD COINS   PLATE XIIIb

Fig. No. 1

Fig. No. 2

Fig. No. 3

Fig. No. 4

Fig. No. 5

Fig. No. 6

Fig. No. 1

Fig. No. 2

Fig. No. 4

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(Left) Fig. No. 5   Fig. No. 6
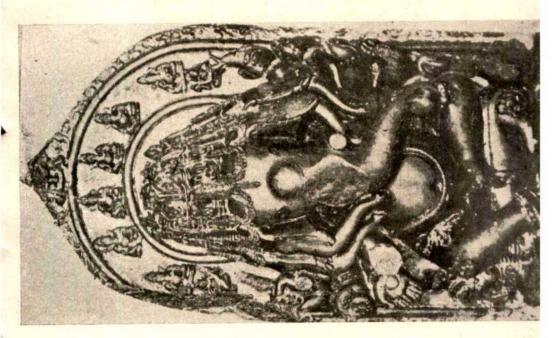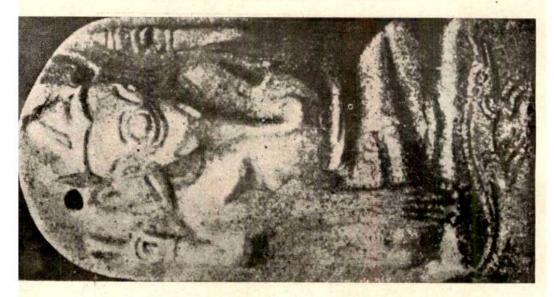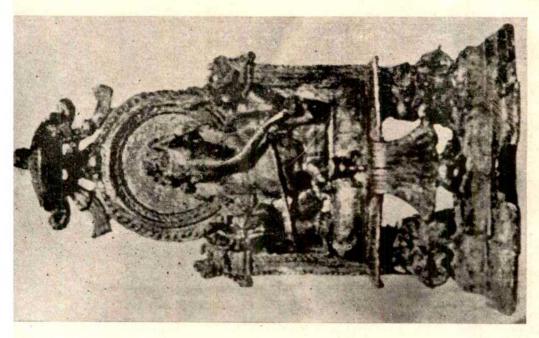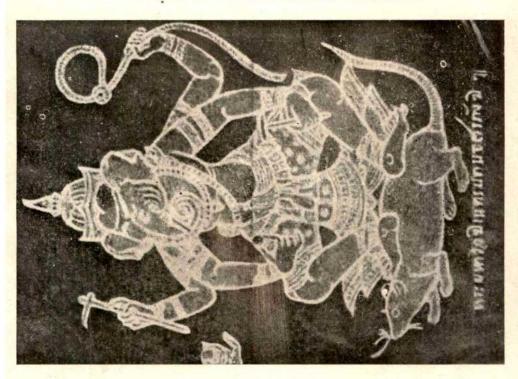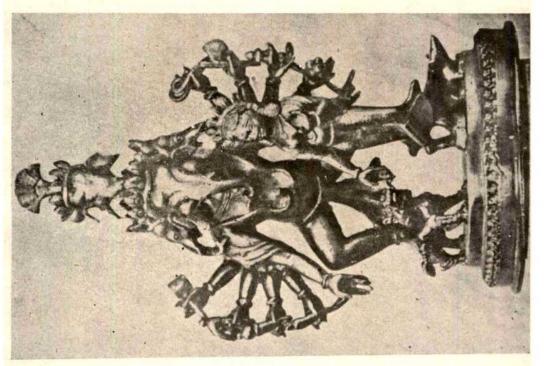
SUPPLEMENT

SHELL INSCRIPTIONS (Part II)

BY

RICHARD SALOMON

This shell inscription is unique in that it is the only specimen known to date on a representative sculptural work of art, rather than on a structural piece.

29. Topra (Delhi)

There is a single shell inscription on the Asokan pillar which now stands in the Kotla of Firoz Shah, in New Delhi, and which was brought there by that king from a place called Topra in Ambala District, Haryana (formerly Punjab). This inscription consists of six characters inscribed vertically. It is rather worn, but for the most part with the shapes of the characters are discernible.

I have not found notice of this inscription in any published work.

30. Meerut (Delhi)

Another single shell inscription appears on the Asokan pillar from -Meerut (U.P.), which was also brought to Delhi by Firoz Shah and now stands on the Ridge, opposite Hindu Rao Hospital, in Old Delhi. This vertical inscription (fig.40) is fragmentary, with the first five and traces of a sixth character remaining.

To the best of my knowledge this inscription has not been previously reported.

31. Barauni

There is a single shell inscription written on a flat rock surface nearby the Gopeśvara temple outside the village of Barauni (also called Choti Barauni, Bavdonikhurd, etc.) in Datia District, M. P. This inscription, due to its situation of the bare ground (as at Rajgir, Mansar, etc.), is badly worn. Only a few characters are vaguely discernible.

This inscription was reported in ARIE. 1963-64, p.65, no. 131.

32. Bhitari

The stone pillar at Bhitari in Gazipur District, U. P., is known for its Brāhmī inscription of Skanda Gupta on the east face of the square base of the column. On the adjoining north side of the base is a horizontal shell inscription of four characters. Besides being very worn,

the inscription is now partly obscured by a steel band fixed around the base of the column. The inscription has not been noticed uptil now.

The following shell inscriptions are reported from photographs or other reproductions only, published or unpublished. I have not visited the sites themselves.

33. Makoria

Shell characters apparently constituting two separate inscriptions have recently been reported from a "a newly discovered rock shelter near the village of Makoria on the right bank of the Betwa, six miles to the south-west of Raisen" (District Raisen, M. P.). From the photograph supplied by the discoverer, Professor Shankar Tiwari of Bhopal, the inscriptions consists of six and four characters respectively, the second inscription written directly after the first with a gap between. The characters are quite large ; they appear to be about eight inches in height, and the two inscriptions seem to be about four to five feet and two to three feet long respectively. Inscription no. 1 is in good condition, while no. 2 is somewhat worn. Both have the same bold, heavy strokes. The flourish below the fourth character of no. 1 is unusual ; it is similar to the peculiar flourishes of the third and fifth characters of inscription no. 23 at Kheri. In other respects, however, the forms of the Makoria inscriptions are normal.

These inscriptions were brought to my attention by Dr. D. C. Sircar, who received a report directly from the discoverer, Dr. Tiwari.

34. Ci-Arutön

The shell incription on a stone in the stream calfed Ci-Arutön, near Jakarta in western Java, is one of the best known specimens of the script. The inscription appears below a pair of footprints carved into the rock and next to a metrical Sanskrit inscription in southern Brāhmī of the fifth century A.D. The latter inscription labels the footprints as "the two feet of King Pūrṇṇavarman, like those of Viṣṇu." Its apparent close association with a Brāhmī inscription has enhanced the scholarly interest in this shell inscription, and it is the only one for which decipherments, have been proposed. Prominent among this attempts is that of K. P. Jayaswal published in EI XXII (1933-34), pp. 4-5. The inscription has also been discussed in several Indonesian publications, most notably in Jean-Phillipe Vogel's "The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java"

Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch-Indië I, 1925, pp. 15-35, with both an estampage and a photograph of the inscriptions (plates 28 and 29). The estampage is reproduced in Jayaswal's article, and in D. C. Sircar's *Select Inscriptions* (plate lxiii).

The shell inscription consists of seven characters in excellent condition. Although some of the characters, such as the second and seventh, are not typical shapes, nevertheless the inscription as a whole is clearly an example of the Indian shell script. Further investigation will be necessary to determine whether this inscription represents a distinct regional variant or merely an individual stylistic development.

The geographical significance of the Ci-Arutön inscription, and an evaluation of the readings offered by Jayaswal and others, will be found below in Sections III. 2 and 5.

35.   Kausambi (b) (Allahabad)

The Asokan pillar which now stands in the Fort at Allahabad was, according to a widely accepted theory, brought to that place from its original site at Kausambi. James Prinsep in JASB. VI (1837), p. 969, and plate LVI, inscription no. 16, notes a single shell inscription of five characters on the pillar. The eye copy which he gives in the plate appears to be accurate. His comment on the inscription in the text, however, is not : "The anomalous flourish (No. 16) which I before mistook for a peculiar writing, is apparently merely a series of ill-drawn *shanks* or shells, a common Buddhist element." (Compare his remarks on the Nagarjuni inscriptions quoted below, Section II.37).

Unfortunately, as the Fort is now a restricted area to which foreigners are not permitted access, I have not been able to see the original inscription.

36.   Besnagar

At least three shell inscriptions occur on the railing pillars excavated from around the Heliodorus pillar at Besnagar (District Vidisha, M.P.). A photograph of three shell inscriptions on one such pillar appears in ASI-AR. 1913-14, pl. LIV, d. The inscriptions, however, are not mentioned in the accompanying text. Shell inscriptions at Besnagar were also noted in ARIE. 1961-62, p. 174, nos. 1699-1701, and 1963-64, p. 70, nos. 175 and 176.

These inscriptions are no longer to be found *in situ* at Besnagar, and I have not yet been able to determine their present location.

37. Nagarjuni Caves

Among the several inscriptions from the Nagarguni caves in East Gaya District, Bihar, reported by James Prinsep in JASB. VI (1837), are two shell inscriptions, nos. 9 and 10 in plate XXXV, facing p. 676. Prinsep describes these (p. 679) as "illegible and in a rude style of writing which I have only met with on one other monument, the trident of Bárahát" (i.e., the Uttarkashi inscriptions ; see above, Section II.23).

Remaining sites :

Shell inscriptions have also been reliably reported at the following places, which I have not yet been able to visit :
1. Bijak Pahar, near Jamshedpur in District Singhbhum, Bihar.
2. Eleswaram, District Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh.
3. Silahara caves, District Shahdol, U.P.
4. Kalinjar Fort, District Banda, U.P.
5. Khairagarh, District Allahabad, U.P.
6. Benisagar, District Singhbhum, Bihar.

Shell inscriptions have also been reported from the following places, but were found to be no longer *in situ* :
1. Madkughat, District Bilaspur, M.P.
2. Arang, District Raipur, M.P.
3. Bahoriband, District Jabalpur, M.P.

Experience shows that shell inscriptions frequently occur at little known places, as well as having gone unreported at more important sites. More shell inscriptions—perhaps a great many more—undoubtedly remain to be discovered. Reports of such new inscriptions from readers would be great appreciated.

III. Preliminary Conclusions

1. Dating of the Shell Inscriptions

Four important scholars—G. R. Hunter, K. P. Jayaswal, Alexander Cunningham, and D. C. Sircar—have ventured estimates of the date of

shell inscriptions. Hunter, in his article on the Mansar inscriptions cited above (Section II.7), was of the opinion that these inscriptions were "an example of the writing of the folk that lived in the Central Provinces before the Aryan invasions, viz., the Dasyus or Dāsas of the *Rig Veda*." His grounds for this estimate are obviously speculative ; the solar and lunar shaped decorations on inscription no. 3 "seem to point to some sort of celestial worship," which he takes to be characteristic of "non-Aryan" peoples. He also notes the presence at the inscription site of the so-called 'cup-marks,' which according to him "are the work not of the Aryas, but of the earlier races." Here again he gives no positive evidence for his views. While Hunter is to be commended for his excellent description of the inscriptions themselves, his ideas as to their age and origin are entirely baseless. As will be shown below, the evidence from other shell inscription sites proves beyond doubt that we are dealing with a phenomenon of the historical era.

K. P. Jayaswal, in a footnote to his article on the Ci-Arutön inscription (cited above), and in an editorial note to Hunter's article, states his view that shell inscriptions are as early as *c.* 100 A.D. His evidence for this is the inscriptions in the Silahara caves near Anuppur in Shahdol District, M. P., which are described in ASI-AR. (New Imperial Series) 1927-28, p. 138. A shell inscription at this site is, according to Jayaswal, "intimately connected with a record of second century A.D.," and the shell inscription "seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines." It must be noted, however, that the ASI Report estimates the Brāhmī inscription as of "about the 3rd or 4th century A.D." I have not yet had the opportunity to visit this site, and must reserve judgement on this point. Such an early date for a shell inscription is by no means out of the question, but Jayaswal's estimate here is evidently subject to doubt.

Cunningham, who had wide acquaintance with shell inscriptions from many sites, seems inclined to assign the shell script to the Gupta or post-Gupta periods. In his report of the Vaiśālī (Basarh) Asokan pillar shell inscriptions, he stated that "I believe these characters belong to the 7th or 8th century." In a later report (ASI. VIII, p. 129) he remarks that some of the Kheri shell inscriptions "are evidently derived from the old Gupta characters." On the basis of the new evidence, it will become clear that Cunningham's estimates were at least partially correct.

Finally, D. C. Sircar, in his "Ihtroduction to Indian Epigraphy and Paleography" published in JAIH. IV (1970-71) expresses the opinion

(p. 116) that the shell inscriptions are "roughly assignable to the period between the 6th and 11th centuries A.D." His dating is characteristically conservative, carefully avoiding the tendency to exaggerate the age of epigraphic relics. My researches, explained below, indicate that the shell inscriptions are somewhat older than Sircar's estimate.

As long as the shell script remains undeciphered, it obviously can not be dated by internal evidence. Therefore dates must be established on the grounds of,—(a) The dating of the sites at which the inscriptions occur, and (b) The co-occurrence of shell inscriptions with other inscriptions which are either dated or datable by paleographic estimate. In both cases, however, caution must be observed. In the case of a site of known date, we may only say that shell inscriptions found there are *no earlier* than the site itself, but may be (and in several cases definitely are) later. Thus the frequent appearance of shell inscriptions on Asokan pillars can not be taken as evidence that they are of Mauryan age, but only that they are of Mauryan *or later* date. (This evidence alone is sufficient to dismiss Hunter's hypothesis.) In the case of co-occurrence with other (i.e., Brāhmī) inscriptions, we can claim a date for the shell inscription only when it can be definitely shown that the shell inscription and the Brāhmī inscription were written at the same time. Thus for instance the Chunar shell inscription is of no value for dating, because it co-occurs with a great variety of inscriptions of many different ages, and there is no way to determine which of the other inscriptions are contemporary with it.

Fortunately, a few of the shell inscriptions do meet the criteria for dating set out above. The all-important inscription for the dating problem is Udayagiri 1 (Section II. 4 and fig. 8). As described above, this is on the rear wall of cave no. 6, and is inscribed immediately below the well known Gupta Brāhmī inscription of the feudatory 'Sanakānīka Mahārāja,' which is dated in Gupta era 81 or 401 A.D. The crucial factor here is the location of both the Brāhmī inscription and the shell inscription within a rectangular space which has been cleared and smoothed out of the rock of the cave wall, obviously for the purpose of providing a good writing surface. Now the Brāhmī inscription, which consists of only two lines, is written across the very top of the cleared space, covering less than a third of the full area. The shell inscription appears below it, and although the central characters themselves are not particulary large, the upper and lower flourishes fill the remaining vertical space. This arrangement can only mean that the writing space was prepared with the specific intention of using it for the two inscriptions,[4]

Brāhmī and shell; and that the two are therefore contemporaneous. We have here, in other words, the only shell inscription yet found which can be definitely assigned a specific date, namely 401 A.D. This then constitutes the anchor point in the chronology of the shell inscriptions.

An earlier, but less precise date, is provided by the shell inscription on the stone horse from Khairigarh, described above in Section II.28. As noted there, the sculpture was dedicated by the emperor Samudra Gupta at the time of his performance of the *aśvamedha*, and the shell inscription is undisputably a part of the original piece. While the exact date of Samudra's *aśvamedha* is not known, it must have taken place some time in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D.; 360 A.D. would be a reasonable estimate. Thus this piece constitutes the earliest definite (if approximate) date for a shell inscription, i.e. *c.* 360 A.D.

From the other approach, that is, dating by sites, we have one important example of a shell inscription at a later site which gives at least a partial indication of how long the shell script continued in use. This is the Deo Baranark shell inscription (Section II 26) on the pillar which bears the inscription of Jīvita Gupta II, the last of the Later Gupta kings of Magadha. While this latter inscription is not itself dated, it is known from other evidence that this king must have reigned near the end of the seventh or early in the eighth century A.D. If, then, the pillar was erected at around this time, i.e., 700 A.D., the shell inscription can be no earlier than that, and in fact appears to have been a later addition. Indeed, it may (keeping in mind the cautions prescribed above) be contemporaneous with the *siddhamātṛkā* inscription immediately below it, which is estimated by D. C. Sircar as of the ninth century.

These three specimens, then, give a definite minimum dating range for shell inscriptions of approximately 360 to 700 A.D.; in other words as indicated above, the time of the Imperial and Later Guptas. Moreover, these dates are confirmed generally by the location of a great number of other shell inscriptions at sites or on monuments definitely attributable to the Gupta era. Major sites coming under this category are Udayagiri, Eran, Rajaona, Susuniya, Bihar Sharif, Deogarh, and Tigwan. Many other important sites, such as Kheri, Rajim, Salihundam, Chunar, etc. were in continuous occupation for long periods including Gupta times. Despite the reservation that a single occurrence of an inscription at a site of a particular period is in itself no positive evidence for date, still the overwhelming preponderance of Gupta period sites, together with the three definitely datable specimens described above, make it a matter of

certainty that the shell inscriptions are generally attributable to the Gupta era.

In a few cases it is possible to identify the inscriptions more specifically within the Gupta period. Khairigarh and Udayagiri 1 are the only definite cases of shell inscriptions from the early Imperial Gupta age. Other specimens, namely those at Eran and Bihar Sharif, are datable to the later phase of the Imperial Guptas. At Eran, the shell inscriptions on the Garuḍa pillar are evidently later additions to the pillar itself, which was erected, according to the Brāhmī inscription on it, in 484 A.D. Furthermore, inscription no. 1 at Eran is inscribed in a position in which it partially obliterates an evidently earlier graffito in Gupta Brāhmī characters (see the lower part of fig. 11). This Brāhmī inscription itself must have been a later addition to the pillar, and the shell inscription later yet. Thus at the earliest the shell inscription is a relic of the declining days of the Guptas in the late fifth or early sixth century ; and it may even be considerably later.

Similarly inscriptions 2 and 3 at Bihar Sharif (see fig. 29 and plate vii of CII vol. III) must have been written after the Gupta Brāhmī inscription of the time of either Skanda Gupta or Pūru Gupta[5], that is, of the latter half of the fifth century. Only the central portion of the Brāhmī inscription on the front of the pillar has survived ; the sections which ran over to the sides of the pillar are obliterated, and parts of the two shell inscriptions are inscribed where there were previously Brāhmī letters. Again, the reasonable inference is that the shell inscriptions were written, not only after the Brāhmī inscription, but probably with a considerable lapse of time in between ; so that, like the Eran inscriptions, the shell inscriptions from Bihar Sharif must be of the late fifth or sixth century A.D., if not later.

Thus it is clear that shell writing was current throughout the Gupta era, in the earlier imperial phase (as at Khairighar, no. 28), in the declining period (as at Eran and Bihar Sharif), and in the time of the successors of the Imperial Guptas (Deo Baranark). As yet no positive evidence has become available as to how far beyond these limits in either direction the period of the use of shell inscriptions may have extended. For earlier dates, we have of course the shell inscriptions on at least seven Mauryan pillars ; but as noted this proves nothing, as later inscriptions have been added to Mauryan pillars throughout history (even to modern times ; note the graffito below Lauriya-Araraj 1, fig. 25), and especially during the Gupta era. Jayaswal's example at Silahara

remains to be investigated, but is subject to doubt. A more likely clue for early dating is the occurrence of shell inscriptions at Bharhut. The Buddhist structures at Bharhut were erected in the second or first century B.C. and, but for the shell inscriptions, all of the many inscriptions found there are of that period. Unfortunately, little information is available as to how long the sacred site was in use; but it is not described by the Chinese pilgrims who visited the great Buddhist shrines of India from Gupta times onward. This, and the absence of later inscriptions or structures, suggest that Bharhut was in disuse during and after the Gupta era ; and if this is so, the inscriptions there may be an indication that the shell script is of pre-Gupta origin, possibly as early as the first to third centuries A.D. But it is still merely a possibility, awaiting further evidence.

On the later date of shell inscriptions, we have already mentioned the possibility of as late as a date in the ninth century A.D. for the Deo Baranark inscription. Other shell inscriptions, such as no. 5 at Vaisali also occur nearby inscriptions in late forms of Brāhmī, and may be of similarly late date. Thus I consider it likely — but again, subject to confirmation by further evidence—that the shell script was in use beyond the eighth century, possibly even as late as the tenth.

CHAPTER TWO

GEOGRAPHICAL AND SECTARIAN DISTRIBUTION OF SHELL INSCRIPTIONS

Shell inscriptions have generally been thought to be restricted to eastern and central India. While it is true that the majority of shell inscription sites do fall within these regions, they are by no means restricted to them. Shell inscriptions are also found in northern, western, and the upper reaches of southern India.

The northernmost shell inscription site is Uttarkashi, in the far north of Uttar Pradesh. In western India, shell inscriptions appear as far as Junagarh on the Saurashtra peninsula of Gujarat. The shell inscriptions at Salihundam in northern Andhra Pradesh, and those at Eleshwaram, near Nagarjunikonda in the same state represent the southernmost extent. To the east, Susuniya in West Bengal is the limit of the shell inscriptions.

The majority of the shell inscriptions, however, are found in concentrations in more central areas. The greatest conglomeration is represented by the modern state of Bihar, which contains nine shell inscription sites yielding 99 inscriptions. A second major concentration is the portion of central Madhya Pradesh comprising Raisen, Vidisha, and Sagar Districts. Here within a distance of less than 75 miles are five important sites (Sanchi, Udayagiri, Besnagar, Eran, and Makoria) with a total of 51 inscriptions.

Elsewhere within Madhya Pradesh are nine more shell inscription sites, including a lesser concentration of three sites in the Raipur District. The other states in which shell inscriptions have been located are Uttar Pradesh (nine sites), Maharashtra (two sites), Andhra Pradesh (two sites), and Gujarat, Haryana, Orissa, and West Bengal (one each)

Geographically most remarkable of all is, of course, the Ci-Arutön inscription of Java. Inscriptions in Indian languages and scripts in ancient Southeast Asia are by no means unusual ; and the occurrence of a shell inscription in these distant regions reinforces the notion that the shell script was no isolated or aberrant local phenomenon, but rather a widespread development within the range of Indian palaeography which was exported together with the *"normal"* types of writing. This is

apparently confirmed by preliminary research into the occurrence of other shell inscriptions outside India ; here seem to be at least three other shell inscriptions from various parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Further details will appear in a subsequent report.

The historical significance of the geographical distribution of the shell inscriptions is immediately evident. The vast majority of the shell inscriptions fall within the boundaries of the Gupta empire at its greatest extent, and most of the rest are found in territories within the Gupta sphere of influence, if not under their direct control. Even more significant is the fact that the two great concentrations of shell inscriptions correspond to the two political and cultural centers of the Gupta empire. Seven of the nine sites in modern Bihar, including all the major ones, are within 125 miles of modern Patna, the Gupta capital of Pāṭaliputra. The Raisen-Vidisha-Sagar complex in Madhya Pradesh falls within the other centre of the Gupta empire, the Malwa region, with the second imperial capital at Ujjayinī (modern Ujjain). The appearance of a large number of shell inscriptions in distant Junagarh is also significant, the Saurashtra peninsula representing a major addition to the Gupta empire during its period of expansion.

The inscriptions in Maharashtra (Ajanta and Mansar) and southern Madhya Pradesh (the Raipur complex of Rajim, Kanwar, and Arang) all fall within the territories of kingdoms associated with the Guptas ; the Vākāṭakas in Maharashtra, and the Śarabhapurīya kings in Raipur. Nearly all the remaining sites in U.P. and other states fall within the Gupta empire proper, with a few exceptions such as Uttarkashi and Salihundam ; but the inscriptions at these sites could be reasonably explained as the work of pilgrims from neighboring regions under Gupta control. Likewise, the Ci-Arutön inscription probably is the result of colonization during the Gupta empire.

In short, the geographical evidence confirms the chronological conclusions derived above. The shell script is essentially a phenomenon of the Gupta empire, though not wholly restricted to it in time or place. Moreover, the marked correspondence of shell sites with Gupta cultural and political centres, and the appearance of shell inscriptions on official relics of the Gupta rulers (as at Khairigarh), indicate that the shell writing was not merely a random development of the times, but rather was intimately connected with the intellectual and artistic flowering of Gupta India.

In respect to the religious connections of the shell inscription sites, no pattern of affiliation is discernible. Shell inscription sites include

exclusively Buddhist monuments, such as Bharhut, Sanchi, and Salihundam, specifically Hindu places, such as Rajim, Deo Baranark, Eran, and Susuniya, and sites associated with mixed traditions including Jainism as well as Buddhism and Hinduism, as for instance Rajgir, Udayagiri, Junagarh, and Khandagiri. This pattern of distribution proves that the shell writing is in no way a sectarian style, but rather must have been a general cultural development adopted by followers of the various religious groups.

CHAPTER THREE

PALAEOGRAPHIC NATURE OF THE SHELL INSCRIPTIONS

The shell script is a monumental, decorative, calligraphic form of writing. With a single exception (the Uttarkashi inscription), all the extant specimens of the script are inscribed in stone on structures of various types: Pillars (e.g., Eran, Bihar Sharif), Columns (Rajim, Kanwar), Caves (Khandagiri, Chunar), Structural walls (Tigwan), Stairways (Kheri, Salihundam), Sculptures (Khairigarh), and bare stone surfaces (Rajgir, Mansar).

The direction of writing is left to right, as in other scripts of the time, or top to bottom in those inscriptions which are written vertically. The left to right orientation appears self-evident from the general shapes of the individual characters, but if proof is necessary it is provided by the the Deo Baranark inscription. As described above (Section II. 26 and fig. 37), the first four characters cover a single face of the octagonal pillar, while the fifth character appears near the edge of the next face to the right. In this case the inscription was obviously begun from the left, at the left edge of the first face, and continued towards the right. The writer would hardly have begun with a single character on one face and continued into the next, as would have had to be the case if the direction of writing were right to left.

Many shell inscription—for the most part those inscribed on columns and pillars—are written vertically. Such inscriptions are seen, among others at Rajaona (except no. 3), Rajim (except no. 4), Vaisali (nos. 3-5), Eran (except nos. 5 and 6), Bharhut, Calcutta (no. 1) Lauriya Araraj (nos. 1 and 2), Bihar Sharif, Tigwan (no. 1), and Sanchi (no. 2). These inscriptions all read from top to bottom, as if they were horizontal inscriptions turned clockwise 90°; that is, the individual characters are each turned to face downward, rather than retaining their original orientation and being placed one below the other. Such a vertical orientation, common in the shell script. is most unusual, though not entirely unheard of, elsewhere in Indian epigraphy. (For example, inscriptions in ornate Brāhmī characters arranged vertically can be seen on the front faces of the two Rajaona pillars.) This vertical writing seems to be merely a decorative adaptation to enhance the effect of shell inscriptions engraved on vertical surfaces.

The calligraphic character of the shell inscriptions is often so pronounced that some observers have been inclined to see them as mere decorative motifs and doubt that they are really writing. Thus James Prinsep was uncertain whether some of the specimens which he discovered were in fact meaningful inscriptions (see above, Section II.35). Looking especially at such extreme examples as Eran 1 or Lauriya-Araraj 1, 2, one may understand this impression. But it can be easily proved by comparison among the highly ornamented specimens themselves, and with other less flourished shell inscriptions, that the individual shapes are in no case random designs, but rather are specific characters appearing and re-appearing in different positions in different inscriptions. For example, the shape of the fourth character. consisting of a semi-circular sign with a loop below, of Eran 1 re-appears in a non-ornate form as the sixth character of no. 9 at the same site. It is seen again in its ornate form at Prahladpur 1 as the second character ; and in other inscriptions, at Bharhut as the second and eighth character of no. 3 ; at Rajim, the third character of no 1 ; the first character at Chunar ; the fourth at Kanwar ; and so on. In view of such a purposeful repetition in varying sequences of a limited number of signs, there can be no reasonable doubt that we are dealing with a system of linguistic representation, however peculiar its superficial appearance may be. Modern epigraphists and palaeographers are in unanimous agreement that the shell inscriptions do constitute a system of writing.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that not all the parts of the more ornate styles of shell inscriptions are linguistically significant. Certain portions of certain inscriptions can be reasonably dismissed as non-significant ornamentation. This is clear beyond a doubt in such extreme examples as the decorative circles and flourishes of Lauriya-Araraj 1 (fig. 25), or the subscript designs of Eran 5 (fig. 12).

Another manifestation of the monumental and calligraphic character of the shell script is the frequently large, and sometimes enormous size of the characters. At a number of sites, such as Khandagiri, Eran (no. 1), and Kheri (no. 23) the basic characters are several inches high, and with the flourishes attached to them may measure a foot or more. Such large dimensions are seldom found in "normal" Indian inscriptions. Far beyond this are the enormous shell inscriptions, to date found only at Udayagiri (especially nos. 3, 9, and 29), whose proportions are utterly unprecedented in other Indian inscriptions. This can only be explained as an extreme development of a monumental and decorative type of writing.

The frequent co-occurrence of shell inscriptions with inscriptions in what is rather vaguely known as "ornate Brāhmī" is another important indication of the calligraphic aspect of the' shell script. Such ornate Brāhmī inscriptions are found in considerable numbers at Udayagiri, Salihundam, and Rajim, and in lesser quantities at Rajaona, Chunar, Khandagiri, Junagarh, and Kheri.

These "ornate" or "ornamental" Brāhmī characters are themselves poorly understood. Only a few a have been read with any certainty ; the best-known are the Sitabhinji inscriptions from Keonjhar District, Orissa, discussed by T. N. Ramchandran in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* XIX (1948-49), pp. 191-202. Readings of a few similar inscriptions from Salihundam have been made by D. C. Sircar in his Appendix to the site report cited above (Section II. 6), pp. 122-23.

There seem to be two principal styles of "ornate Brāhmī." The squarish type seen at Udayagiri is similar to that of Salihundam and Kheri. The Sitabhinji inscriptions are in the same script, which was described in ARIE. 1959-60, p. 99, nos. 515-517, as "ornate southern Brāhmī" ; but it in fact occurs, not only in eastern and central India (i.e., Kheri and Udayagiri) but even in Kashmir (see ARIE. 1962-63, pp. 85-86, nos. 314 and 316, and plate III). A second type, which appears to be restricted to north India, is seen at Chunar, Rajaona, and Rajim. Characteristic of this style are complex angular characters with varying degrees of decorative additions. The Rajim 'Pūrṇṇāditya' inscription is an extreme example of this type. Cunningham (ASI-AR. III. p. 154) states that "This peculiar style was in use all over Northern India during the 7th and 8th centuries."

The common factor between the two types of "ornate Brāhmī" themselves, and with the shell script, are the long and often extravagant flourishes above and below the letters, which are characteristic of all three types of writing. It must be emphasized, however, that this may constitute no more than a superficial resemblance, and does not in itself prove a common origin for ornate Brāhmī and the shell script. This problem will be further discussed below (Section III. 6).

Stylistically, the shell incriptions display a great variety in terms of (1) The degree of ornamentation and flourishing attached to the characters ; (2) The care with which the inscriptions are written ; and (3) The shapes and forms of the characters themselves,

Although every shell inscription has some (apparently ornamental) flourishes attached to the tops and bottoms of the individual characters, they show great variety in the amount and degree of such decoration. Of the simpler type are such examples as Deogarh 1 (fig. 30), Lauriya-Araraj 3 (fig. 27), and Eran 6 and 9 (figs. 12 and 13). In these types, a few of the individual characters have short curved lines above and below. Examples of moderate ornamentation are found in the Kanwar inscriptions (fig. 28), in Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig. 26), and in Rajim 1 (fig. 18). In such inscriptions, a greater proportion of the characters are decorated, and the decorations are more varied : Circular designs in the Lauriya inscription, and longer and more complex linear designs, with doubling and other elaborations, in all three. A high degree of ornamentation is to be seen in such inscriptions as Eran 5 (fig. 12) and Bihar Sharif 2 (fig. 29). In these inscriptions the decorative strokes take a great variety of linear, circular, and other forms, and seem to virtually surround the entire inscription. Also characteristic of such highly ornate styles is the presence of entirely separate decorative elements which are not attached to any of the characters of inscription proper ; as for instance in the Bihar Sharif inscription.

In terms of the care and skill with which they are inscribed, the shell inscriptions range from casually ornamented graffiti to works of calligraphic art. Often such differences may be observed in direct contrast at a single site. An outstanding example of such contrasts is seen in the Eran inscriptions 5 and 6 (fig. 12), written one directly above the other ; the former with the most exquisite skill (note the knot-like designs on the flourishes), the latter with little apparent concern for its appearance. Similar contrasts may be made between the beautiful Rajim 1 (fig. 18) and the casual, almost sloppy inscription 3 nearby. Again, note the difference between the beautiful proportions of Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig. 26) and the rough shapes of inscription 3 (fig. 27) at the same place.

It should not be assumed that these two factors—quality of writing and amount of ornamentation—necessarily go together. On the contrary, some inscriptions with moderate decoration, such as Lauriya-Araraj 2, noted above, are among the finest specimens ; while some inscriptions with a great deal of elaboration, such as Deo Baranark (fig. 37) are rather clumsily written and have little aesthetic appeal.

Important stylistic variations among the shell irscriptions are not limited to the forms of decorative elements. On the contrary, the forms

of the central characters themselves—which appear to be the linguistically meaningful elements of the script—are equally diverse in styles. While it is easy to point out some inscriptions as clear examples of unusual styles, it is difficult to single out any particular specimens as normal. Nevertheless such examples as the Kanwar inscription and Lauriya-Araraj 2 might be considered specimens of typical styles. Certain others are stylistically unique (at least in the present state of our knowledge), such as the Khandagiri inscription (fig. 35), or Kheri 23 (fig. 6). Some distinct stylistic variants are common to inscriptions found at different sites ; some such examples have been noted in the individual site reports above. An outstanding variant of this class is the peculiarly angular hand of Rajaona 1, 2, 4, and 6 (fig. 17), which is paralleled closely by the two inscriptions of the Nalanda slab and by Tigwan 1 (fig. 33), and less closely by Lauriya-Araraj 3 (fig. 27). Another distinct style is seen in the broadly rounded shapes of Bihar Sharif 1 (fig. 28), Rajaona 5 (fig. 17), and Deogarh 1 (fig. 30). A peculiar and problematic variant, wherein all the characters seem to have been stylized into a single basic shape with only subtle variations, occurs in Kheri 34 (fig. 7), Eran 5 (fig. 12), Bihar Sharif 3, and Lauriya-Araraj 1 (fig. 25).

Very close stylistic correspondences are not restricted to the less usual forms. Striking resemblances can sometimes be observed among shell inscriptions of *typical* styles as well. The resemblance between Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig. 26) and Bharhut 2 (fig. 22), for instance, is so great that they almost seem to have been written by the same hand.

Another interesting differentiating stylistic factor is the treatment of the interior portions of the individual characters. Most of the characters of the shell inscriptions are closed figures with an interior space. This interior space may be, according to different styles, either left intact, fully cut away, or partially cut away with intentional shaping. Examples of the first type, where the shell characters appear as simple linear patterns, as in most monumental Indian scripts, are the Chunar inscription (fig. 31), Eran 6 and 9 (figs. 12 and 13), Bharhut 3 (fig. 23), and Lauriya-Araraj 3 (fig. 27). This treatment is characteristic of, but not limited to, the more casually written specimens.

The second treatment, where the interior is fully cut away, may be seen in Bihar Sharif 2 (fig. 29), all of the Susuniya inscriptions (fig. 16) and Kheri 34 (fig. 17). In the third method, the interior may be cut away with a contouring within the cut portion, as is the case Khandagiri

(fig. 39) and in Prahladpur 1 (fig. 19) or the cut away interior may be decorated with linear patterning, as in Eran 1 (fig. 11). Both of these techniques are, of course, characteristic of the more calligraphic type of shell inscriptions.

In view of the enormous stylistic variation among the shell inscriptions, it should perhaps be re-emphasized that all of the inscriptions are nonetheless examples of the same script. While a superficial comparison of, say, Eran 1 and Lauriya-Araraj 3 may reveal little in common, a careful analysis of the individual forms of all the different types of shell inscriptions proves their essential unity. As has already been shown earlier in this section, the same shapes regularly reappear, with only stylistic variations, in all the various kinds of shell inscriptions.

Granted then, that we are dealing essentially with a single alphabet or script ; so what is the significance of the great range of palaeographic variation ? Normally, one would invoke factors of geographical and/ or chronological developments to explain such a situation ; but in this case there are complicating factors. Here again, the problem of dating such undeciphered epigraphs arises. In most cases, we have no way to determine whether a number of shell inscriptions at the same site are contemporaneous, or if not, which are the earlier and which the later. Thus we would not be justified in saying that the different styles of, for instance, Kheri inscriptions 8, 23 and 34 represent shell characters of different periods. Moreover, such sites as Bihar Sharif pillar, and especially the Calcutta slab, where apparently contemporaneous shell inscriptions of very different styles are found in close conjunction, seem to work against a chronological explanation. Of course, it is possible that different shell inscriptions were written on the same monuments at different times ; but the seemingly purposeful arrangement of such examples as the Calcutta slab, and of the Rajaona pillar B (inscriptions 4-6), as well, where the available space is evenly divided between the various shell inscriptions, strongly suggests that they were engraved at the same time, and that the varying styles are to be explained as those of different hands.

Neither do the variant forms of shell inscriptions fall into any significant geographical patterns. As noted above, very similar styles may appear in sites as distant as Lauriya-Araraj in north Bihar and Bharhut in central India ; and as we have already seen, widely variant forms are found quite regularly at the same site. Here some degree of stylistic diffusion might be explained on the grounds of the inscriptions

having been written by pilgrims from different parts of India. But the fact remains that, at least with the material yet available, the different styles of shell inscriptions do not seem to fall into any significant geographical or chronological pattern ; so that, like the presence of such entirely idiosyncratic specimens as Kheri 23 or Lauriya-Araraj 1, they must be tentatively explained as a matter of personal taste. Apparently, the different styles of writing shell inscriptions were current simultaneously, and the users of the script were able to choose freely any style they preferred, or even to develop a new style to their own liking.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTENTS AND LANGUAGE OF THE SHELL INSCRIPTIONS

A striking and undoubtedly significant characteristic of the shell inscriptions is the regularity in the number of characters which they contain. With a very few exceptions, the shell inscriptions, have from a minimum of four to a maximum of eight characters. In a few cases only do shell inscriptions have less than four characters ; these are the single character inscriptions (Sanchi 1, Deogarh 2, and Udayagiri 29) already noted, and inscriptions of three characters from Udayagiri (no. 16) and and Mathura (no. 4). Inscriptions of four characters, are common ; examples are : Chunar, Vaisali 5, Rajaona 4 and 5, and the inscription on the Nalanda slab b (=Rajgir 44).

Among the longer inscriptions, only Rajgir 41 (the Sonbhandar inscription) *may* be seen to have more than eight characters, depending on how some of the characters are analyze 1. The complex groups appearing in third and second position from the end, consisting respectively of a loop, a question mark-like shape, and a curved wedge, and of a shell-like shape plus a wedge, should probably be taken as single characters (perhaps conjunct consonants ?) ; and thus this inscription too would fall within the limit of eight characters.[6] Other inscriptions of eight characters appear frequently ; e.g., Sanchi 2, Bharhut 2 and 3, Tigwan 2, Kheri 34, and Mansar 3.[7]

This nearly unanimous regularity in length supports what has been suggested by several earlier investigators, that the contents of the shell inscriptions are personal names. (See for example, the description of the Mai Gadhechi inscriptions given in ARIE, cited above, Section II. 1.a.) It is hard to imagine any other kind of text which would be so regularly restricted in length ; while the occasional appearance of single characters could be reasonably assumed to be initials in place of full names.

The assumption that the shell inscriptions represent names is strongly supported by both the sites where they occur, and by their locations within these sites. As already pointed out, shell inscriptions frequently occur in conjunction with other name labels—*graffiti*, or pilgrims' records, or whatever—of all periods, and especially with such inscriptions written in ornamental characters. Now the contents of such

ornate Brāhmī inscriptions as have been deciphered are names, and their location at holy sites shows that they are undoubtedly pilgrims' records. The co-location of the shell inscriptions with these inscriptions at so many sites, and their almost universal occurrence at sites of religious interest which would be worthy of a visit by a religious traveller, make it seem most likely that the shell inscriptions are pilgrim's records. It would appear that ornate scripts were used in ancient India primarily as a means of recording one's name in an attractive and emphatic manner.[8]

If we are correct that the shell inscriptions are pilgrims' records, this might explain their peculiar location on the steps of the stairways at Kheri and Salihundam. The intention may have been that by recording one's name in such a position that it would be trod upon by the feet of innumerable future pilgrims, one could prolong and increase the merit of one's visit to a holy place.

Alternatively, it has been suggested that the shell-inscriptions record not names, but some sort of ritual formulas or *mantras*, possibly *tantric* in nature. The argument in favour of this theory is that the shell script appears to be an intentionally secret and mysterious form of writing; and that, if a pligrim wished to record his name for posterity, he would certainly wish to do it in a widely known script. The shell inscriptions, therefore, would not be used for pilgrims' records, but rather for the writing of semi-secret ritual formulas, in order to lend an air of mystery and sanctity to the sites and monuments at which they are inscribed. This interpretation is favoured by several scholars, including Dr. B. N. Mukherjee. It is to be kept in mind as an alternative to the more widely held theory of pilgrims' records.

Although there is no positive evidence, short of actual decipherment, to identify the language of the shell inscriptions, the circumstantial evidence of geography and chronology suggest that it is probably Sanskrit. It is beyond doubt that the shell inscriptions are closely associated with the Gupta period, and Sanskrit was the only language in general use for inscriptions in north India of that time. The geographical distribution of the inscriptions, as discussed above (Section III. 2), shows that they correspond closely with the central regions of the Gupta empire; so that any possibility of a foreign origin for the incriptions is virtually out of the question.

Most importantly, as we have seen, the shell inscriptions regularly occur together with inscriptions in a variety of scripts, but all in the

CHAPTER FIVE

ORIGIN OF THE SHELL SCRIPT, AND PROSPECTS FOR ITS DECIPHERMENT

Several scholars have expressed the opinion that the shell script is nothing more than an ornate variation of the normal Brahmi of the times. Jayaswal, in his supposed "decipherment" of the Ci-Aruton shell inscription (EI. XXII, p. 5) says that "The forms...have basic unity with Brāhmī forms," and proceeds to "read" the inscription by comparing the individual letters with Brāhmī *akṣaras*. D. C. Sircar (JAIH, IV, p. 116) holds a similar view, that "The characters are really ornamented forms of the letters of the local alphabets [of the sixth to eleventh centuries A.D.]." Cunningham and Beglar also, in reference to the Kheri inscriptions (ASI-AR. VIII, p. 129), remarked that "Some of [the shell characters] are evidently derived from the Old Gupta character, as the disguise of flourish is not in all cases sufficient to mask the characters."[10]

Besides supposition on circumstantial grounds, there is also one important paleographic factor which seems to suport the theory of the shell script's connection to Brāhmī. This is the presence on most—but not all—shell characters of a short horizontal of diagonal line at the head of the character. This was noted by Jayswal (*ibid*) who remarked "The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali, and other Aryan scripts of the north."

This top line takes various forms in the different styles of shell script. In the Susuniya inscriptions, the top lines are thick and heavy, and extend across the full width of the letters. In many other inscriptions, for instance Bharhut 2 or Lauriya-Araraj 2, the line is short and narrow, usually slanting diagonally up toward the right. The same line appears in some highly ornate inscriptions in stylized from, as for example in Eran 1, where it has been transformed into a narrow semi-circular border around the top half of the characters.

It is undeniable, then, that this top line, which is so suggestively characteristic of Brāhmī and Brāhmī-derived scripts, is, in its various forms, a pervasive element of the shell script. It is worth noting, however, that shell characters occasionally do not have the top line ; and that this does not seem to be a mere random phenomenon, but

rather is regular to certain characters. A circular or oblong character with a diagonal stroke in the lower right portion is regularly written without a top line ; see Chunar (fig. 36), fourth character, and Vaisali 1 (fig. 54), fifth character. (It is perhaps also significant that this form appears regularly as the final character of an inscription.)

The regularity (regardless of its stylistic variations) of employment of this top line and the consistency in its occasional omission do seem to suggest that it is a basic element of the shell script, and not merely a conventional decoration ; which lends support to the notion that the shell script is nothing but a variant of Gupta Brāhmī, in which such a top line is a prominent feature. But still, this common factor is not enough to prove by itself any such direct connection. To do so, it is necessary to establish a definite correspondence between the forms of the actual characters of the shell inscriptions and those of the Brāhmī script ; or in other words to prove Sircar's assertion that the shell characters "are really ornamental forms of the local alphabets."

It is not yet possible, at the present stage of our research, to present a detailed analysis of all the characters of the shell inscriptions. But as a preliminary approach to the problem of the relationship of the shell script to Brāhmī, the basic forms and variants of the most frequently seen shell characters are discussed below :

> (1) The *Shell.* This is the characteristic shape which suggested the name which is applied to the script as a whole. The basic shell form may be seen, with the usual stylistic variations, in Susuniya 5 (fig. 16), second character, or in Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig. 26), third character. It appears with various flourishes attached in Khandagiri (fig. 35), fourth and seventh characters ; Kanwar (fig. 21), seventh character ; Bharhut 2 (fig. 22), second and fourth characters ; and Tigwan 1 (fig. 33), fifth character.

Besides the basic shell shape, there are a number of other characters having the same essential form with additions or modifications. Among these are :

(a) Shell with wedge, as in Susuniya 5 (fig. 16), sixth (last) character.

(b) Shell with a vertical addition on the right side : Rajgir 41 (Son-bhandar, fig. 5), seventh character ; Kheri 23 (fig. 6), second and fourth characters.

(c) Shell with large loop below :   Rajgir 38 (fig. 4), last character.

(d) Shell below notched circle : Bharhut 2 (fig. 22), third character.

(e) Shell with curve inside : Bihar Sharif 2 (fig. 29), fifth character; Calcutta 3 (fig. 24), second character.

(2) The *Drop and Loop.* This very common character is seen in Kanwar (fig. 38), second character; Bharhut 3 (fig. 23), seventh character ; and Sanchi 2 (fig. 32), seventh (second from last) character. Superficially this character looks like a conjunct, or combination of two letters ; but this not the case, as the two elements—the *drop* and the *loop*—actually do not occur separately. Moreover, the great frequency of this character indicates that it represents a primary phoneme.

The two parts of the character are generally written close together and joined as the top, as in Sanchi 2. But sometimes, as in Bharhut 2, there is a space between the two halves ; and occasionally the parts appear separately, as in Mansar 3 (in JBOR, *loc. cit*), second character, giving the impression of being two separate characters (cf. above, Section III. 4).

The *drop and loop* most frequently occurs without any additions. Occasionally it has flourishes, as in Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig. 26), second character. In Calcutta 3 (fig. 24), first character, it has a subscript shell form : this may represent a conjunct character.

(3) The *Circle* is found in its bare form in Bharhut 3 (fig. 23), sixth character :   and   Sanchi 2 (fig. 32), sixth character. This character occurs most frequently with a loop, usually composed of a doubled line and with a extension trailing off to the left, added below. Examples of this form Eran, Prahladpur, etc., have already been cited above in Section III. 3.

(4) The *Heart* usually appears with flourishes of various shapes below : Lauriya-Araraj 2 (fig 26), sixth character ; Kanwar (fig. 38), third character ;   Khandagiri (fig. 35), second, third, and sixth characters ; Sanchi 2 (fig. 32), second character ; and Mansar 3, eighth character. At the beginning of Susuniya 5 (fig. 16) it appears in doubled form as part of a conjunct character.

(5) The *Sword* shape may be seen in its plain form in
Vaisali 1 (fig. 21), first character ; Lauriya-Araraj 1 (fig. 25),
fifth character, and 3 (fig. 27), sixth character ; Bihar Sharif
2 (fig. 29), first character ; Calcutta 3 (fig. 24), third
character ; and Khandagiri (fig. 35), fifth character. It
appears with flourishes in Eran 9 (fig. 13), third character.
In Kheri 8 and 30 (not illustrated) it is doubled.

(6) The *Double curl* is found in Tigwan 1 (fig. 33), fourth
character ; Vaisali 1 (fig. 21), second character, and 2, fifth
character ; and Chunar (fig. 36), third character. It appears
with flourishes above in Rajim 1 (fig. 18), sixth character.

The shell script *gives* every indication of being a semi-syllabic
writing of the type which is so characteristic of Indic scripts in general ;
that is, a consonant-based system in which vowels are marked secondarily
by the use of diacritics attached to the preceding consonants. This is
suggested by the frequent occurrence of certain signs with various
additions and modificatios. These presumably represent the commonest
consonantal phonemes, while the flourishes added on are probably, in
some cases at least (where they are not merely decorative) vowel
markers.[11]   The occasional appearance of what seem to be conjunct
consonantal characters (Calcutta 3, first character ; Susuniya 5, first
character ; Chunar, second character ; etc.) is another typical feature
of Indic-type scripts. Furthermore it is interesting to note that certain
signs appear only in initial position ; the first character of Calcutta 1
and Tigwan 2 is not seen elsewhere, nor does the initial of Bharhut 3
occur in any other position. This suggests that these two characters
are initial or 'full' vowel signs, which in a Brāhmī-type syllabic script
used for the Sanskrit language would normally appear only at the
beginning of a word.

Thus two features of the shell inscriptions support the hypothesis of
a Brāhmī derivation ; the general pattern of distribution of signs suggestive
of a syllabic system of the Brāhmī type, and the regular employment of a
top line similar to that of the contemporary Brāhmī script. But the
summary analysis given above of the most common of the *specific
characters* of the shell script fails to support the theory of Brāhmī
origin. The individual forms of the commonest shell characters do not
reveal any pattern of close correspondence with those of standard Brāhmī,
either of the ancient stage or of the contemporary styles. The idea that
the shell characters are nothing but highly ornamented versions of normal

letters is not confirmed by the preliminary analysis given above. Even when all possible elements of non-significant ornamentation are removed, the remaining forms—the *shell, drop and loop, heart,* etc.—simply do not show any clear resemblance to those of other Indic scripts. Even if the Brāhmī characters had been deliberately obscured, out of aesthetic or other motives, by the creators of the shell script, we would expect to be able to find some degree of resemblance or at least correspondence ; but my efforts in this direction, so far at least have been fruitless.[12]

Furthermore, if the shell script were an offshoot of Brāhmī, we would expect to find at least some traces of a historical development, in which some earlier stages of the derivate writing would display a clearer connection to the parent script. But, as has already been shown above (Section III.2) no such pattern of chronological development is discernible ; the shell script seems to have sprung into being independently.

A possible explanation for this seemingly paradoxical situation—an evident general relationship with the mainstream of Indian paleography on the one hand, and a total lack of correspondence of specific forms on the other—is the possibility that the shell script was an intentional and artificial creation, rather than a gradual outgrowth from the parent stock. If an individual or group wished, for whatever reason, to create a new writing, he would naturally adopt the orthographic principles of the prevailing script while substituting a new arbitrary form for each of the characters of the original The result of such a creation in the Indic context would be a semi-syllabic consonantal system like that of Brāhmī, but with an entirely new set of individual characters ; which is apparently what we have in the shell script.

The creation of an artificial script, while unsual, is not entirely unprecedented. A possible motive, which has been suggested by some scholars in connection with shell inscriptions, is the desire to create a secret or mystical writing for religious purposes. In any case, the originator or originators of the shell script, and their motivations, remain to be identified and explained. But until the theory of a Brāhmī can be supported by positive paleographic comparisons, the hypothesis of an independent and perhaps artificial genesis may be the only way to explain the unique character of this script. Needless to say, the question is open to further investigation.

The Ci-Artuön (Java) inscription *deciphered* by K. P. Jaswal in EI. XXII (1933-34), pp. 4-5 is the only shell inscription for which decipherments have been attempted. Jayaswal claims to read the shell

inscription as "Śrīpūraṇṇavarmaṇaḥ," that is, as a repitition of the name of the king in the accompanying Brāhmī inscription. His method is simply to establish fancied similarities of the shell characters with Brāhmī *akṣaras*. Thus he belives "the *v* in our inscription [the fourth character] is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter," while in fact there is little, if any, resemblance. "The *m* here [sixth character] has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two" ; this resemblance is also entirely imaginary. The "mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *na* [seventh character]" is obviously nothing but the top of the letter. The rest of Jayaswal's identifications are equally spurious. In order to explain away the problem that the inscription has seven syllabic characters, while his reading of it has only six, he identifies the third character as *n* with a *virāma* sign (i.e., as a vowelles consonant), while in fact the practice of writing a vowelless consonant within a word to avoid a conjunct is a modern usage, not found in ancient Indian scripts. Finally, Jayaswal's observation that "the three *n's* [third, fourth, and seventh characters] are the same in shape" is patently wrong ; they are in fact all three quite different.[13]

The editor of the EI, Hirananda Sastri, was evidently being rather charitable in his note remarking that "Mr. Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible, but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis." In view of its obviously careless and superficial approach, we may dismiss Jayaswal's claim without hesitation.

Other attempts at decipherment of the Ci-Arutön inscription have been offered by several scholars of Indonesian epigraphy, Hendrik Kern, in a private letter quoted in *Notulen van de Algemeen en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* XLVII (1909), p. 187, note 1, read it as 'Pūrṇṇawarmma padam,' 'the foot of Pūrṇṇavarman.' Dr. Brandes (see Vogel's *"Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java,"* p. 24) read 'Cri Tji aroeḍ eun waca,' 'the blessed lord of the Tji aroeḍ eun.' Both of these efforts, however, can be dismissed out of hand, since neither scholar was apparently even aware of the nature of the script with which he was dealing. And as Vogel (*ibid.*) points out, both readings were proposed in private communications and not published by the scholars themselves, and thus were presumably intended as *merely provisional.*

More recently, an Indian scholar, H. B. Sarkar, in *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java* (Calcutta 1971), vol. I, p. 4, has proposed the reading 'Sri Cirutrudesa (or, deśa) śrī (or, Śrī),' meaning 'the prosperity of the

blessed land Cirutru,' This he offers with the curious comment that "This cursive line of inscription may be written from left to right It may also be read from right to left, the meaning remaining the same [!]."

This scholar too was unaware that he was dealing with a shell inscription, and his decipherment is obviously no more than a rather careless guess. In conclusion, despite these several *readings* of the Ci-Arutön inscription, we may state categorically that to date no shell inscription has yet been deciphered.

Prospects for future decipherment, however, are reasonably encouraging. Since the language and general contents of the inscriptions are fairly certain, it should be possible to solve the problem. The main difficulties facing the decipherer (aside from the lack of previous efforts to serve as guidelines) are :

(1) The poor condition of much of the material. Of the inscriptions already found, less than half are fully intact and legible. Of the remainder, only a small fraction are legible fragments ; the rest are badly worn, many entirely illegible. Unfortunately, for what is essentially a palaeographic problem depending on close comparison of shapes and forms, the damaged and unclear specimens are not likely to be of much use.

(2) The problem of stylistic variations. As discussed above (Section III. 3), the diverse styles of the shell inscriptions have enough in common to be definitely identified as essentially the same script ; but they also have enough variation to confront the would-be decipherer with considerable difficulty, While the most frequent and distinctive characters can generally be identified in the different styles, it has proven very problematic to correlate the rarer figures and minor variants of the different styles. As a result of this difficulty in distinguishing distinct characters from mere stylistic variations, it has not yet been possible to compile a complete catalogue of the characters of the shell script, which would be a crucial tool for analysis and decipherment. Hopefully, further analysis and collection of more material will overcome this difficulty.

(3) The problem of isolating decorative elements. While certain of the more extravagant flourishes on ornate inscriptions, such as the circular patterns of Lauriya-Araraj 1 or the detached swirls of Bihar Sharif 2, can obviously be dismissed. as mere decorations, many cases are more difficult. Are the moderate flourishes above several characters,

of Prahladpur 1 (fig. 19), for instance, to be taken as insignificant elabo-
ration, or are they meaningful orthographic elements, such as vowel
markers attached to consonant signs ?   Similarly, what are the functions
of the flourishes commonly attached to the bottoms of the craracters,
as in the Khandagiri inscription, or Lauria-Araraj 2, second and fourth
characters, or Kanwar, first, third, and seventh characters ?   Positive
criteria to distinguish significant writing from decorative elements must
be developed as a prerequisite for decipherment.

On the positive side, however, there is good reason to hope for
decipherment.   As already noted, we are in all probability dealing with
a case of a known language in an unknown script, which generally is
a soluble problem.   Despite the   limitations cited above (no. 1), the
amount of materials available is considerable ; and there is the prospect
of locating at least a few and possibly many more inscriptions.

The most encouraging prospect,   however, is the possibility of
bi-script inscriptions.   We have already cited numerous instances of shell
inscriptions occurring close by to Brāhmī inscriptions, some of them
apparently contemporary.   This is the case, for instance, at Chunar and
Eran (see inscription 1). (A similar   situation   reported   at Śilaharā
remains to be investigated.) Especially promising instances of possible
biscripts are found at Susuniya, Prahladpur, Deogarh, Rajgir (Nalanda
slab b), and Ci-Arutön. Jayaswal's treatment of the latter inscription,
however, must be kept in mind as a caution ; we must not jump to the
conclusion, as he did, that a shell inscriptions must necessarily contain
the same text as a nearby inscription in other characters.   Nevertheless,
such a situation is certainly within the bounds of possibility (as it was
in the unfortunate case of Udayagiri 1, described In Section III. 1).   A
careful scrutiny of such possible bi-scripts may well produce the key to
the shell inscriptions.

Even if the bi-script approach does not succeed, the shell inscriptions
may prove to be decipherable by indirect means.   Analysis of character
frequency and distribution patterns could lead to success, especially with
the accumulation of more specimens—provided, of course, that assump-
tions concerning the linguistic content of the inscriptions are correct.

CHAPTER SIX

EPILOGUE

To date 310 shell inscriptions have been collected from 37 sites. At least nine more sites are known to have shell inscriptions, and others undoubtedly remain to be discovered. The shell inscriptions are much more abundant throughout India than had been previously realized. Previously study of the shell inscriptions has been minimal.

The inscriptions are found over a wide area including most of northern India and the Deccan. Heavy concentrations are in central and north-eastern India. Most shell inscriptions date from the times of the Gupta empire and its immediate successors, c. 350 to 700 A.D. The shell script is evidently a product of the cultural flowering of the classical Gupta era.

The language of the shell inscriptions is in all probability, but not definitely, Sanskrit. The contents may be personal names engraved as pilgrims' records, as is indicated by their restricted length (almost always four to eight characters). Alternatively, the shell inscriptions may represent ritual formulas or *mantras*. Virtually all the shell inscription sites are places of special religious significance.

The shell script is a decorative, calligraphic form of writing with a considerable variety of styles ranging from relatively simple to extremely ornate. Its origin remains problematic, and there is considerable doubt, as to whether it is directly derived from Brahmi.

As yet the shell inscriptions remain completely undeciphered. However, in view of the considerable amount of material and the information available from comparative means the script can realistically be considered decipherable,

In conclusion, I wish to re-emphasive the tentative character of most of the views expressed in this report. Everything is subject to revision on the basis of further study and accumulation of new materials. Comments and criticisms from the readers will be welcomed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Regrettably, this plate has been omitted in the recent reprint edition of this book.

2. Formerly Muzaffarpur District. The site was previously known as Besarh or Bakhra.

3. The Jīvita Gupta inscription is now only partly visible, the lower part being buried under accumulated debris. The entire site is, in fact, in lamentable condition. A *khatal* has been constructed between the four pillars, and other relics have been damaged or lost.

4. It is most unfortunate that the shell inscription is in very poor condition, as it might well have provided a biscript clue to decipherment. Very likely it recorded the name of the Sanakānika king himself. But as it stands only the first character, and the upper and lower flourishes of some of the subsequent characters remain legible.

5. Due to its damaged condition the attribution of the inscription is uncertain.

6. The curved wedge appears regularly attached to other characters, especially the shell shapes, as here in the first character (cf. also Susuniya 4 and 5, and Rajgir 44, on the Nalanda slab b). Although in the second character from the end it appears to be slightly separated and has a peculiar tail below, it probably is not a separate character here either.

7. Mansar 3 also seems to have nine characters, and so it was taken by Hunter. But as a matter of fact, what appear to be the second and third characters are actually a single character ; this will be explained below in Section III.5.

8. This may have been the practice in non-epigraphic writing as well. The emperor Harsa used another type of ornamental script in signing his copper plate grants. Due to the lack of non-epigraphic materials from this period however, we will probably never know whether the shell script was used for ordinary as well as monumental writing.

9. Although these *graffiti*-type epigraphs often display the lax grammatical usage common in Sanskrit inscriptions (such as omission of final *visarga*, etc.). We should not be surprised to find the same defects in the shell inscriptions, if and when they are deciphered.

10. G. R. Hunter's theory of a pre-historic origin for the shell script has been disposed of already (see above, Section III.1), and need not be discussed here. Another rather outlandish theory as to the origin of the script has been suggested by T N. Ramachandran, as cited by Md. Abdul Waheed Khan in *A Monograph on Yalāśvaram Excavations* (Andhra Pradesh Archaeological Series XIV, Hyderabad 1963), p. 58 : "According to Sri T. N. Ramachandran, *Śankha Lipi* is the corrupt form of the word *Śrinkhala lipi* used by nomads who were called *Jangamas* by virtue of their nomadic peregrinations and regarded the whole world as their home and had a very cosmopolitan outlook. During their wandering they left their writings on stones with an invocatory mark which was invariably a chain......" This hypothesis, is obviously fanciful and based on inadequate observation of *śankha lipis*; it does not require any further consideration.

11. The variations on the shell forms listed above (1, a-c) are probably not modifications of a single consonant, but rather separate consonants themselves. If taken

as representing a single consonant, the frequency of all the various shell-like forms would be unexplainable. It is common in many scripts, Indic and otherwise, to have a number of different characters which are superficially similar.

12. Cunningham and Beglar's claim, quoted above, of having recognized Gupta characters in the inscription at Kheri may be the result of their having taken the ornate Brāhmī inscription there as a shell inscription. The flourishes on ornate Brāhmī inscriptions sometimes create a superficial resemblance to shell characters.

13. Equally baseless is Jayaswal's claim that "The writing is very likely the Paushkarasādīyā, one of the three main *lipis* of Northdrn India mentioned in Buddhist books." There is simply no evidence for this, nor does Jayaswal give any. Other obvious errors are his mistaken report on the Khandagiri inscription (see above, Section II. 24), and his identification of "Dr. Turner," rather than Hunter, as the discoverer of the Mansar (Ramtek) shell inscriptions.

Fig. 1
Mai Gadhechi Cave (Junagadh)

Fig. 2
Khapra Kodia Cava (Junagadh)

Fig. 3
Chariot Track (Rajgir, Bihar)
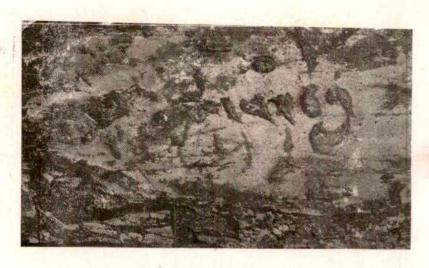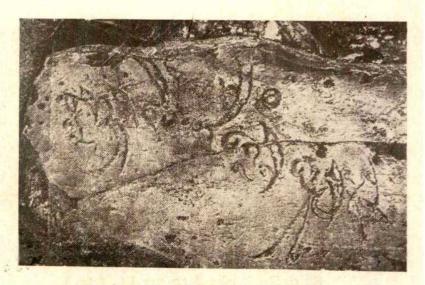
Fig. 4
Chariot Track (Rajgir, Bihar)

Flg. 5
Son-bhandar (Rajgir, Bihar)
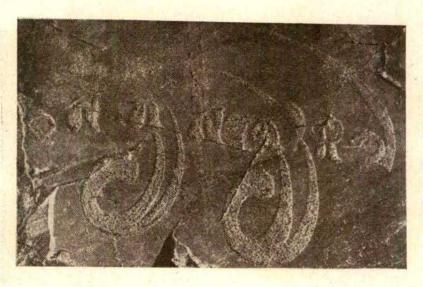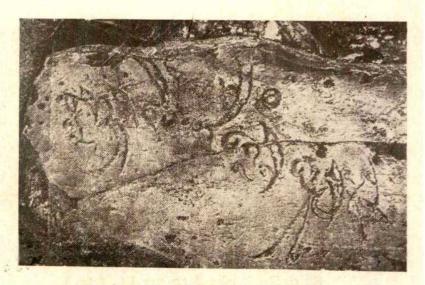
Fig. 6
Kheri, Shahkund (Bhagalpur Dt., Bihar)

Flg. 5
Son-bhandar (Rajgir, Bihar)
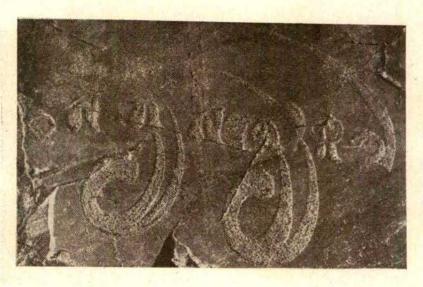
Fig. 6
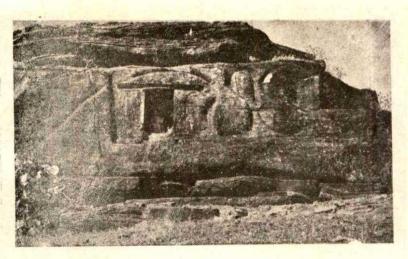Kheri, Shahkund (Bhagalpur Dt., Bihar)
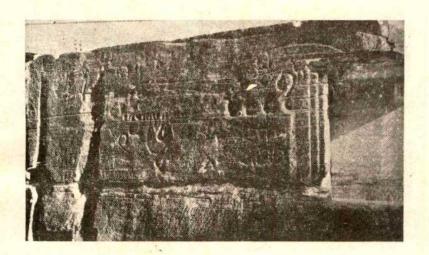
Fig 9   Udayagiri, east wall

Fig. 10.   Udayagiri 29.
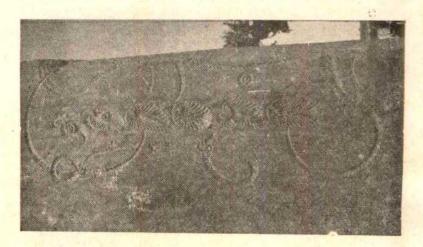
Fig. 11.   Eran 1.

Fig. 12   Eran 5 and 6

Fig. 13   Eran 9.

Fig. 14.   Salihundam 14

Fig. 15.   Kausambi 4-6
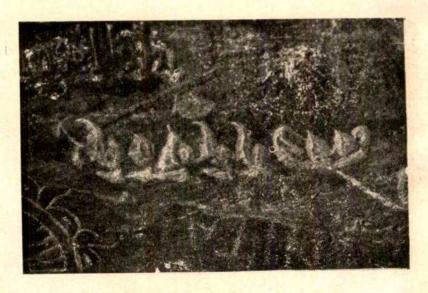
Fig. 16   Susuniya 5
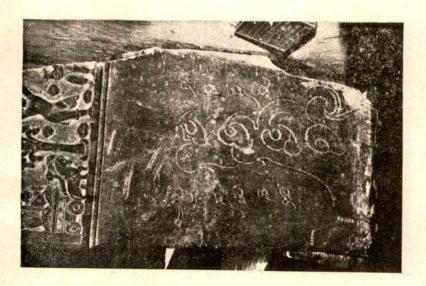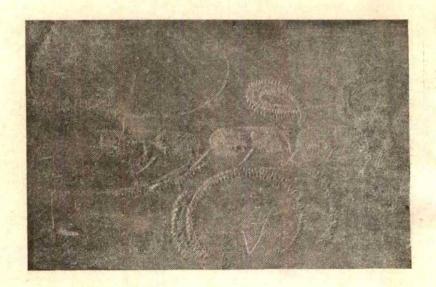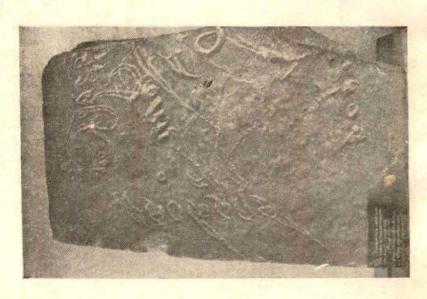
Fig. 17   Rajaona 4-6.
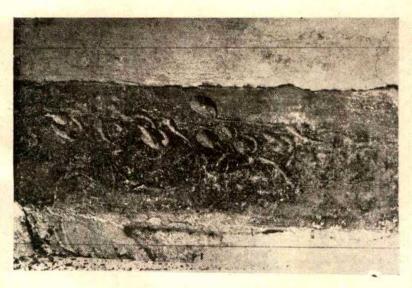
Fig. 18   Rajim 1.

Fig. 19.   Prahladpur 1

Fig. 20   Mathura slab
(Photo courtesy of the U.P. State Muscum)

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